THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • FEBRUARY 8, 1947 NUMBER 6

The Shape of Things

PALESTINE IS HARVESTING THE BITTER FRUIT of a policy of indecision and cowardice the blame for which, if resting primarily on the British government, must be shared by the government of the United States. The order to evacuate British civilians from Palestine occasioned by the recent kidnappings can only be interpreted as a signal to convert that tragic land into an active theater of war. The military will now attempt to repair the failure of the diplomats of London and Washington, and their efforts are doomed from the start. *The Nation* has stood firmly against terrorist tactics and warned that they would become the excuse for just such action as has now been decided upon. It now urges with equal insistence that the British government rescind its decision and not, in the words of the London *Herald*, "surrender to terror." If it is not too late, the condemned Irgun member should be granted a reprieve in consideration of his war services in the British forces or his case, even over his protest, be sent to the British council. Above all, the present crisis should be sufficient to stab the London and Washington negotiators awake to the necessity for an immediate and permanent plan for Palestine. If the solution is a partition that guarantees a "viable" Jewish state, then let the governments of Great Britain and the United States declare it and stand by their decision.

*

THE DEBATE ON ATOMIC-ENERGY CONTROL resumes as the Atomic Energy Commission's report moves into the Security Council. Preliminary skirmishes suggest the stormy rough-and-tumble over principles and top-policy prerequisites that has from the beginning marked American-Russian exchanges. It can safely be predicted that as long as the one side insists on the abolition of the veto and the other on the priority of a convention outlawing atomic arms, no compromise will be arrived at. It is perhaps useful to recall that the focus of discussion is or ought to be a report which by the widest stretch of the imagination cannot be considered an adequate basis for a treaty or convention. The Atomic Energy Commission report is an *interim* report, as its own text emphasizes. A vast amount of work remains to be done: the "detailed powers, characteristics, and functions of the international control agency" will have to be defined with great exactitude. All this spells months of hard work for the commission. Why cannot the Security Council instruct the commission, which has proved its competence in the technical and scientific fields of the atomic problem, to get on with its job, and leave the disputed section of the current report to debate when all the facts are in?

*

GEORGIA IS MORE NEWSWORTHY NOW THAN at any time since Sherman crashed through to the sea. With two governors in Atlanta, its finances half-frozen, and a legislature bent on making suffrage the affair of private "clubs," it presents a picture of democracy about to receive extreme unction. On the other hand, indignation meetings are reported throughout the state, the brassy legislative maneuver contains pleasant possibilities of boomeranging, the courts cast a long shadow over the path of the Pretender, and former governor Ellis Arnall is barnstorming the country preaching the tenets of democracy. At the moment, the most important of these developments is the passage of the white-primary bill by the state House of Representatives. The essence of the measure is to prevent federal interference in behalf of would-be Negro voters by the simple device of repealing all state controls over the primary, leaving it up to local Democratic clubs to make such regulations as they see fit. The theory is that the primary is purely a party affair, and the party can insist on lily-white exclusiveness where the state government cannot. But three rude contingencies tend to modify the rapture of the Talmadge legislators in perpetuating this bit of parliamentary larceny. First, the Georgia Supreme Court may throw out "Governor" Talmadge, and along with him all legislation carrying his signature. Second, the federal courts are likely to decide to hold Georgia to the spirit as well as the letter of the Fourteenth Amendment. And, third, if the courts do not so decide, Negroes might flock to receptive Republican "clubs" or eventually to a third party—with the result that Georgians might wake up some November morning to find that at last they really had a better electoral system than Poland or Yugoslavia.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 141
Pulling Out of China? 143
Socialization in Germany 144

ARTICLES

The Labor Pains of Senator Taft *by Wilbur H. Baldinger* 145
Cancer Spot of Europe *by Fritz Sternberg* 146
China's Dark Destiny *by Peggy Durdin* 150
Letter from Paris *by Michael Clark* 152
Highballing with Kilowatts *by Richard L. Neuberger* 154
Everybody's Business *by Keith Hutchison* 157
In One Ear *by Lou Frankel* 158

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

The Citizen and the Ideal *by Louise Bogan* 159
Typical Cartels *by George Soule* 160
Surrealism in Chile *by René Blanc-Roos* 160
Briefer Comment 161
Art *by Clement Greenberg* 164
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 165

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 166

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 198 *by Jack Barrett* 168

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor J. King Gordon — *Literary Editor* Randall Jarrell*

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch — *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Ralph Bates

Assistant Managing Editor: Jerry Tallmer

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. *Assistant Literary Editor:* Caroline Whiting. *Research Editor:* Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

* Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 818 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $6; Two years $10; Three years $14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE BRITISH Labor government and the Burmese delegation, reached in the astonishingly short period of five weeks, is one of the most heartening of recent events. There is now no insuperable obstacle in the way of Burma's achievement of either dominion status or total independence. It does not diminish the Labor Party's credit to say that Britain has done no more than recognize a plain necessity. The Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League has also shown wisdom in resisting counsels of violence. That the majority nationalist party has chosen the peaceful way may be due to the fact that Burma, ravaged by two military campaigns, is in great need of immediate economic help. In converting the $300,000,000 loan, upon which Burmese reconstruction depends, into an outright grant and in promising further financial help during the interim period, London doubtless hopes to influence Burmese opinion. The negotiations were marked by frankness, vigor, and a realistic willingness to compromise upon all issues. The British yielded to U Aung San's demand that the April elections must return, not a mere legislative body, but a Constituent Assembly empowered to draw up a constitution; the Burmese made concessions on the problem of the hill tribes of the frontier regions, who, distinct in mode of life from the rest of the country and formerly an oppressed group, make up one-third of the population. The Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, which has always objected to partition as proposed by the White Paper of 1945, has agreed that the constitution must safeguard the rights of the minority. Difficulties and dangers remain. Nevertheless, if the present wisdom continues to be shown, Burma has every chance of achieving its liberty during the British Labor Party's present term of office.

*

REPRESENTATIVE WALTER ANDREWS OF NEW York, chairman of the House Committee on the Armed Services, appears to be painfully confused over his committee's place in the scheme of government. How else explain his almost idiotic directive to the committee staff? According to an Associated Press dispatch, these people, including high-salaried professional assistants, have been ordered by Mr. Andrews to dress just so, to avoid all fraternization with members of other committee staffs, and to remain standing when officers or members of Congress are present until given the command "At Ease." We can no more imagine a self-respecting civilian paying attention to such impertinence than we can picture Representative Helen Douglas shouting "At Ease" out of the corner of her mouth. But Mr. Andrews should be set straight all the same. His committee is a civilian watchdog, charged with keeping the military and naval services properly subjected to popular control, and not a low-echelon service command designed to cater to the brass and braid. If the gentleman from New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wants to play the old soldier, a unifom can surely be dug up for him and perhaps a garrison platoon in, say, Korea.

*

DAVID STERN'S ACTION IN SELLING THE Philadelphia *Record* and his two Camden, New Jersey, papers rather than settle with the Newspaper Guild strikers seems to us like the gesture of a defeated dictator. Unable to attain absolute rule, he has sought to ruin his 1,675 employees and has succeeded in destroying his reputation as a liberal. In 1935 Mr. Stern, then publisher of the New York *Post*, signed one of the first "guild-shop" contracts and thus gave the young union a very welcome boost. But in recent years he has attempted to overcapitalize on this good deed and has become increasingly difficult to deal with. Now he has left Philadelphia with only one morning and two evening newspapers, while Camden has none at all. However, the *Bulletin* management has announced that efforts will be made to enable publication to be resumed under "independent ownership." The strikers' solidarity is unbroken; whoever buys the properties, they insist, will have to sign a contract before starting the presses.

*

SIXTEEN MILLION TENANTS RECEIVED A last-minute reprieve on January 29 when the President, performing a hasty and undignified somersault, stopped the mimeographs which were grinding out a release authorizing a 10 per cent boost in rents. Mr. Truman's approval of this plan had been originally secured by his too clever confidant, Clark Clifford, and some top officials in the Office of Temporary Controls, who persuaded him that it would be smart politics to forestall a G. O. P. bill providing for a 15 per cent increase. Fortunately, the news leaked out, and frantic calls to the White House from labor leaders and democratic Congressmen induced the President to think again. Even politically this pandering to the real-estate lobby would have been folly; much better leave the responsibility of killing or revising rent controls to the Republicans. From the point of view of national economic welfare, a rent increase at this time could well prove disastrous. It would wipe out the much-advertised but actually very modest fall in the cost of living and would certainly strengthen demands for higher wages. Moreover, an OTC report just issued shows that landlords as a group are doing nicely with profits ranging from 25 to 43 per cent higher than before the war. As Senator Tobey, chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, has very properly stated in the course of hearings on the Republicans' rent-increase bill, the burden of proof is on them.

IN THE PASSING OF DAVID LOUIS PODELL *The Nation* has lost a valued counselor and loyal friend. In his distinguished career as an attorney he was habitually on the side of the people against the rude pressures of an industrial society. His firm belief that society was made for man and not man for society brought him into the group that gathered around Franklin D. Roosevelt to map out a program for America when the country was overwhelmed by economic crisis. When the war broke out, he was elected to head the small-business section of the Department of Justice. It is probable that the war burden he ungrudgingly carried in spite of failing health contributed to his too early death. He was identified with The Nation Associates from its beginning, and his wise counsel contributed greatly to the work of the organization. David Podell was a man whose liberalism was not something to be donned like a Sunday suit for a special occasion: it was part of the warp and woof of his life.

Pulling Out of China?

IN WITHDRAWING American troops from China General Marshall has taken the course that was logically implied by his report of January 7 on the breakdown of his year-long mediation effort. He has done wisely, for in no other way could the United States have been restored to a position of influence. But when the Secretary of State considers what program he will adopt for the future, it is to be hoped that he will draw more radical conclusions from his experiences than those contained in his report.

From the outset it was obvious that there could be no hope of success if the mediating power gave such aid to one of the contestants that the ratio of military force between them was seriously altered. That principle has been persistently flouted. Since V-J Day the United States has trained and equipped some forty divisions for the Kuomintang. Moreover, by transporting nearly half a million troops to strategic points the United States army and navy have served as effective allies of a militarist group which at least once during the negotiations declared its intentions of exterminating the other party. It is true that a part of this aid was given before January, 1946, when General Marshall began his peace effort. The greater part, however, was given during the negotiations of the Committee of Three. The result was extension of the civil war and repeated violations of political agreements. Inevitably, the Yenan regime concluded that the American mediation effort was nothing but a mask for Western imperialism.

The refusal of the middle-class Democratic League to participate in the Constituent Assembly or to enter the coalition government is another indication of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

extent to which Washington defeated General Marshall's purpose. To borrow General Marshall's words, "On the side of the government, which is in effect the Kuomintang Party, there is a *dominant* group of reactionaries who have been opposed . . . to almost every effort I have made to influence the formation of a genuine coalition government." Again in his words, the action of this group "has been devastating in its effect." Stronger terms have not been used by the Yenan regime itself. In effect, the United States has strengthened an intolerable dictatorship and helped to prevent the rise of those very middle-of-the-way parties upon which, in the latter part of his report, the American mediator declared the salvation of China depends.

If the Secretary of State is to take full advantage of the liberty he has now given himself, the course he must follow is noonday clear. The Chinese reactionaries, Chiang included, have without doubt banked heavily on the outbreak of war between this country and Russia. In such a war they have seen their best chance not only to recover territories formerly controlled by China but to arrest social revolution and democratic reform alike. This pernicious notion must be dissipated.

Then, if the United States is truly resolved to give no more military aid to Chiang, this country can do much to bring a real coalition government into existence. The Communists at present refuse to enter the government until a return is made to the military situation of January, 1946, and the new constitution has been annulled. It is unlikely that these conditions will be met. But that does not mean that all-out civil war is inevitable, for neither party is strong enough for such a campaign without foreign aid. A compromise can therefore be reached. Although, on paper, the new constitution satisfies most of Yenan's demands, it is certain that without powerful persuasion from General Marshall Chiang will not give substance to the promised reforms. But if the Kuomintang is made to understand that no help whatever will be given to China until the promised democracy becomes a reality, the result may well be a genuine coalition government. The inclusion of the Democratic League is vital, not only because it is the one minority group that promises to become a major party, but because fulfilment of its conditions for entry would satisfy nine-tenths of the demands of the Communists.

Will American policy permit General Marshall to deliver what amounts to an ultimatum to Chiang-Kai-Shek? Nothing less will undo the harm this country has done. Powerful interests, both military and political, will doubtless urge support of the mock coalition government now set up in China. To do so would be to sentence China to protracted civil war, with unforeseeable results. Secretary Marshall must bear in mind that not all the power of the United States can arrest a revolution so profound as that which is occurring in China.

Socialization in Germany

IN HIS article on page 146 Dr. Fritz Sternberg paints a somber picture of western Germany as a subsidized slum and sets forth a program of economic reforms urgently required if the Germans are to become self-supporting and to build a democratic state.

One particularly ugly element in the situation is the comfort enjoyed by the Nazis and their collaborators, which contrasts bitterly with the misery of the urban masses. A few Nazis, of course, have been punished, and others have been deprived of their jobs; but millions are free and still able to enjoy their ill-gotten gains. It is, as Dr. Sternberg points out, essential both from the economic and the moral point of view that the privileged position of these men should be ended. That measure must be accompanied by the drastic reorganization of the whole economic and financial structure. Government debts, a burden which the weakened economy cannot support, must be canceled, and an entirely new currency created.

The most necessary step of all is the socialization of the major German industries, for as long as these remain in the hands of those who cooperated so ardently with Hitler, we shall not have a peaceful and democratic Germany. Unfortunately, there seems to be a major conflict between America and Britain on this question—a conflict which may prevent many of the hoped-for benefits of zonal unification from being realized. The British government has very definitely committed itself to a policy of public ownership, subject to international controls, of the heavy German industries, including coal, steel, chemicals, and engineering. Officially, the American occupation authorities are neither for nor against this program; the matter, they say, must be decided democratically by the German people themselves. However, this attitude does not preclude unofficial discouragement of any moves toward public ownership. For instance, the new Social Democratic chairman of the Bi-Zonal Economic Committee has been pointedly warned by General Clay that he will not be allowed to use his position to foster socialization plans.

These attitudes reflect not only the personal inclinations, and sometimes interests, of American officers in Germany but also pressure from big business at home. A note in the *Journal of Commerce* of January 29 revealed the line clearly. The United States, it pointed out, cannot oppose socialization abroad but has a legitimate interest in safeguarding American investors from confiscation. Since Germany could not indemnify American owners of property in a satisfactory way, that is, in dollars, nationalization would become in fact confiscation. Therefore, it is argued, the State Department should officially dis-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

courage nationalization in any case where American investors are involved, which means the whole of heavy industry.

The American people, however, did not fight the war to rescue American business from ill-advised investments. It fought to overthrow Nazism and German militarism once and for all. This aim will not be achieved if the monopolists who financed Hitler's rise to power and collaborated in all his plans for world conquest are allowed to keep their economic, and hence their political, power. It is idle to talk of democracy in Germany unless the German people are allowed to eliminate the industrial oligarchy and gain control of their own economy. And it is futile to hope for economic revival on a scale sufficient to relieve American taxpayers from their present German burden until this question, which is basic to reorganization, is settled. American liberals must wake up to this situation and insist that alleged American interests are not permitted to camouflage the resurrection of the Thyssens, the Krupps, and the Stinneses.

The Labor Pains of Senator Taft

BY WILBUR H. BALDINGER

Washington, February 2

REPRESENTATIVE Fred A. Hartley, Jr., who in his *Congressional Directory* autobiography exults that he is the "only living person after whom an aerie of the fraternal Order of Eagles has been named," sets out this week to stake an even bolder claim to a page of history. The rugged Republican from Kearney, New Jersey, chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, is going to wrap up the labor program in a bill which, he says, will be more than good enough to stop John L. Lewis.

Mr. Hartley's chief helpers in this enterprise are the committee's two next-ranking Republicans, Gerald W. Landis of Indiana and Clare E. Hoffman of Michigan, names which strike terror to the minds of children of all good union card-carriers. Their endeavors can be counted on to put the party back in good standing with the National Association of Manufacturers, which has been disturbed by the slowness of anti-labor legislative processes in the first month of the Eightieth Congress: Robert R. Wason, chairman of the board of the N. A. M., declared last week that there had been a Republican "sell-out" to labor for 1948 vote purposes.

What aroused the N. A. M. board chairman was the apparently plodding way in which the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee was going about its appointed task of banning closed shops and industry-wide bargaining. Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, until now a dependable man, was chairman. Senator Joseph H. Ball of Minnesota had proposed bills to accomplish the two N. A. M. objectives. So what was the need for all the talking in the Senate committee?

The need for the talking was made clear at a Taft hearing on the Ball bills. From the far Democratic left of the table Florida's Senator Pepper wondered persistently if the evils of capital should not be considered along with the evils of labor. Between Pepper and Taft, New York's Irving M. Ives—who can make Taft watch his labor step in 1948—asked searching questions. At the right Ball, a younger Lincoln to his Minnesota adherents, was jealously proud of his legislative handiwork but uncertain in his answers to questions about it.

The witness was Ludwig Teller, New York labor-relations counselor, who found Ball's bills faulty in at least some respects and who had his own "balanced" labor program. Teller would set up special courts to replace the National Labor Relations Board in cases involving enforcement of the Wagner Act. He also urged "crisis measures for crisis situations" and said there ought to be a law on secondary boycotts and strikes. Taft asked unhappily, "Have you tried to draw a statute on the subject?" Teller said he had not, and Taft nodded in confirmation of his own uncertainties.

The need for the talking was also made plain yesterday morning at the White House, when President Truman held a special press and radio conference to announce joyfully a no-strike, no-lockout peace treaty between the Associated General Contractors of America and the Construction Trades Department of the A. F. of L., affecting at least two million workers. The President said that the compact for settlement of disputes between the tough A. F. of L. craft unions and the just as tough contractors was a "notable step along the road to industrial peace." In this opinion even Senator Homer E. Capehart of Indiana and his colleague from Wisconsin, Joseph R. McCarthy, concurred, and nobody pointed out that such a gratifying development in labor-management relations would not be permitted under the Ball bills, which have been regarded in Republican policy circles as legislative minima.

Ball's Senate Resolution 105 declares "unlawful any contract or agreement making membership or non-membership in a labor organization a condition of employment." The A. F. of L. building-trades unions are traditionally closed-shop outfits, and they negotiated their understanding with the industry on that basis,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

specifically excluding from the treaty any "employers in whose operation a non-union condition exists."

Ball's Senate Resolution 133, preventing "the use of certain monopolistic practices in collective bargaining," forbids industry-wide negotiations. It provides that "no labor organization shall be a representative for purposes of collective bargaining of any employees of an employer if such an organization also acts as the representative . . . of employees of any other employer engaged in the same industry . . . unless . . . located within the same labor-market area."

Both the A. F. of L. craft unions and the contractors are largely Republican in their voting habits. Perhaps that consideration will act as a further deterrent to precipitate action by Taft and his labor committee.

In any event, little hope is seen in Washington that the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. will regard the situation on the Hill as a compelling reason for merger. The Miami proposal of President William Green of the A. F. of L.—and John L. Lewis—to President Philip Murray of the C. I. O. for amalgamation conferences was as cynical as the earlier Murray proposal to Green for a united front against pending labor legislation.

No adult reading this will live long enough to see a united labor movement in the United States. But both labor groups will be around long enough to see a legislative blitz against their very existence. In the Senate the enemy may withdraw tentatively from his heavily armed positions. The House forces are eager for the fray, and Hartley has the votes. Taft will need many of his talents to resolve the conflict to the credit of the Republican Congress and to the end of industrial peace.

Cancer Spot of Europe

DIAGNOSIS OF THE GERMAN PROBLEM

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

THE starting point of any realistic program for Germany must be the present economic situation as it is reflected not only in production figures but in the condition of the various classes in the population.

Economic conditions are immeasurably worse today than they were even in 1932, the year of deepest depression, and social antagonisms are much sharper. The leader of the Social Democrats in the British zone, Dr. Kurt Schumacher, said recently, "The situation in Germany is such that 35 per cent of the inhabitants have not only retained all they possessed before the war but have become in effect even richer because the others have become poorer. Another group, about 25 per cent, have not enough to live on but through connections of all sorts manage to keep body and soul together. The rest of the people, 40 per cent of all Germans, have nothing but their food ration cards. Such conditions mean latent social revolution."

ALMOST HALF THE POPULATION DESTITUTE

Making up the destitute 40 per cent are the many millions who were bombed out of their homes, the other millions evacuated from the former German and Polish provinces now in the hands of the Russians and Poles, and the vast number of Germans who were expelled from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and other countries. These people have nothing but the clothes on their backs. They live in cellars or crowded into rooms without furniture or kitchen utensils. Not for a hundred years has such destitution existed in Germany. Even during the blackest years of the world crisis the unemployed had shelter, could obtain coal in winter, and drew insurance which enabled them to eat twice as well as they can today. The basic fact in the whole German problem is that the living standard of nearly half the population has been depressed far below anything in the experience of living generations.

Among the 25 per cent who manage to gain a livelihood are the workers and other employees in the smaller towns and those in the large cities who were not bombed out. These people, even if they get no more food than the official rations, still have an apartment with living facilities and so have some hope of survival.

The 35 per cent who, according to Dr. Schumacher, have suffered little from the war fall into two groups—farmers, and the Nazis and their collaborators. The countryside except in a few places has not been devastated. The German farmers—some 20 to 27 per cent of the population—still have their homes and personal property intact. They have their land. And what is particularly important in the western zones, they are fully employed, in contrast to the city workers; their output lags behind demand, and the black market is open to them. The farmers are, in fact, the only existing middle class,

FRITZ STERNBERG, a German economist now living in this country, is the author of "The Coming Crisis," which has probably been more widely discussed than any other recent book in its field.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for the former urban middle classes, after having been impoverished during the inflation period and almost ruined by the great depression, were the particular victims of the *Wehrwirtschaft* (war-preparation economy) and the war.

The top 10 per cent is made up of the Nazis and their collaborators, men who made vast profits out of the armaments economy before and during the war. With the exception of a few who have been brought to trial, these people have not been deprived of their wealth, and their use of it has been very little restricted in the three western zones. The progress of denazification in the American zone is frequently reported—in September, 1946, at the time of Mr. Byrnes's Stuttgart speech, General McNarney, then American commander-in-chief in Germany, even declared that denazification had been completed—but in reality little has been accomplished. A number of Nazis have been thrown out of administrative posts, but so far nothing has been done to break their social and political power. In almost every town under American control big and small Nazis remain in undisturbed possession of their bank accounts and their property. They are well housed and well dressed, and because their money allows them to buy food on the black market, they have good health and sufficient energy for political activity. Punishment of the Nazis and their collaborators would have meant decisive changes in the social structure, and such changes have been strictly avoided in the American and French zones, though some are now being initiated by the British.

INDUSTRY STAGNANT

An American economic policy in western Germany is non-existent. The most essential repairs have been made in the transport system, but for the rest American policy has been and still is one of waiting until free enterprise again sets the wheels of industry in motion. And because free enterprise is not equal to the task, the blame has been placed on the three-zone system. German production at present is far below the level fixed at Potsdam, and with conditions such as they are it is hard to see how it can be raised by the methods of private capitalism.

The situation is quite different in the territory under Soviet control. The Russians are keenly interested in production because a considerable part of the current output goes to the Soviet Union. Some of it, however, stays in Germany, and this provides an incentive to German labor. There is even a man-power shortage in the Soviet zone, though unemployment prevails elsewhere.

Incentives to industrial activity are painfully lacking in western Germany. There is at present no functioning currency, and no one in Germany can know what money will be worth in the future. There is no certainty about the availability of raw materials. And because of the latent revolutionary ferment, the capitalists are not even sure that their factories will remain in their possession. Under these conditions it is no wonder that capitalist industry is at a standstill. And since the American administration finds a planned economy absolutely foreign to its mind, it has failed to take the necessary steps to restore production. The result is that the output of even the most essential consumer goods is disastrously insufficient. This is also the case in the British and French zones.

As evidence I will quote the following appeal to the British Minister in charge of German affairs, published in the *Hannoversche Presse*.

> We are speaking mainly of our own city, which we take to be neither better nor worse off than other devastated cities in the British zone. Hanover has again 334,000 inhabitants. Among them are 200,000 bombed out people, 16,000 refugees (40,000 more stand before our doors), 3,200 former concentration-camp inmates, and an indefinite number of people, certainly several thousand, who have had their homes and their furniture requisitioned for the occupation forces. . . .
>
> In the fifteen months since the capitulation there has been hardly any possibility of replacing these losses. Allotments of goods have been so ridiculously low that not even the normal demand could have been filled. To illustrate: in a period of a year and a half only fifteen pfennigs' worth of sewing and darning material has been allotted per family.
>
> Since the introduction of new allotment cards by the Military Government for necessary consumer goods, the city of Hanover has twice received supplies. The first shipment was a sort of advance for extremely needy cases until the result of the goods inventory was available; the second was the first regular allotment for one month. If one compares these two allotments together to the needs of a city of 344,000 inhabitants, one is tempted to believe that a careless clerk forgot three, or at least two, zeroes in every amount. For example, for about 150,000 men and youths the allotment for a period of four months was 89 suits, 31 coats, 227 pants, 206 work jackets, 469 work aprons, 416 work suits, 76 work pants. For 1,700 mothers with new-born babies there were 82 jackets, 118 baby shirts, 217 rubber sheets, 4 baby carriages. A total population of 344,000 people received 43 mattresses, 55 bedsheets, 5 gas stoves, 9 gas cookers, 99 beds for adults, 30 children's beds, 27 clothes closets, 48 tables, 260 chairs.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

All the large cities of Germany are in the same straits. And in consequence the people are sullen and despairing. The first post-war winter, 1945-46, was of course one of great hardship. But the winter of 1918-19 had also been hard, and it was followed by recovery. So people thought that this time, too, when spring came, things would take a turn for the better. But spring came, and summer, and the hunger rations of 1,500 calories were still further reduced—in the British zone to just over 1,000. This winter the amount has been raised, but it remains a hunger ration. With reserves at a low point, the German people are going through the second peace-time winter in an almost starving state.

It is reported that should the winter be a very severe one, small but violent uprisings may occur in the western zones. On the other hand, the Germans may have become so tired and fatalistic that they will have no strength for this kind of resistance, which after all would not change the situation. But whether uprisings break out or not, the fact remains that industrial Germany today is a stagnant slum in which only the former Nazis and their collaborators enjoy a fairly decent standard of living.

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE UNITED STATES

How can this situation be changed? The first thing necessary is a clear understanding of the elements that enter into it, but in furnishing the needed information the American press has been singularly negligent. It has reported that the Germans are on hunger rations but not the extent to which the United States is responsible for this condition through its adherence to the Potsdam agreement. The essence of the difficulty is that the three western zones, with 66.7 per cent of the population of Germany, produce much less than two-thirds of its food. Before the war their output was only 43.8 per cent of the total amount of bread cereals, 40 per cent of the potatoes, and 32.2 per cent of the sugar beets. It must be remembered, too, that before the war Germany imported about 20 per cent of its foodstuffs, and today, with the population swollen by the influx of millions of displaced and evacuated persons, would need to import 50 per cent, even if agricultural production reached its pre-war level. Germans in the western provinces are responsible neither for the presence of the refugees nor for the political barriers that prevent the free movement of foodstuffs from the agricultural regions in the east. The United States, by signing the Potsdam agreement, assumed at least part of the responsibility and should do what it can to discharge it.

With respect to industrial production the American press has supplied even less adequate information. For example, on October 26 the New York *Times* printed the following dispatch from Berlin: "The September industrial output in the United States zone suggests that after unbroken expansion of such activity during the year a seasonal decline is starting, according to Brigadier General William A. Draper, Jr., director of the Economic Division of the Office of Military Government." The fact is that when Germany collapsed, production dropped to nothing, from which point, of course, any recovery at all can be represented on paper as an unbroken expansion. But it is absurd to describe the present complete economic stagnation as a seasonal decline.

Though the American public is meagerly informed about the economic situation, it is constantly told about German progress toward democracy, as manifested by the existence of a free press and trade unions. Again, the reality in no way corresponds to the picture. The German press is strictly forbidden to criticize the policies of the occupying powers and is therefore not at all a free press. It cannot discuss the lack of food, the unemployment, the unsettled currency, the prosperity of former Nazis—all questions of the utmost importance to the German people. Trade unions, it is true, exist—in a society which does not even produce the necessities of life—but they are not allowed to make representations in the matter of wages.

These are the economic and social facts from which democratic planning for a new Germany must start. Is there any possibility of developing real democracy among a people living at a below-subsistence level, without houses, without jobs, and without hope?

SOCIALIZATION INEVITABLE

Capitalism as it existed in Germany before and during Hitler's regime will not be restored. In the Russian zone as everywhere else in Eastern Europe the Soviets have destroyed the social foundations of capitalism. In the west the conditions described above make the reconstruction of capitalism almost impossible. Moreover, the British Labor government is now definitely moving toward the socialization of key industries. This policy, if carried out with determination in the face of the expected American opposition, will bring about a fundamental change in the structure of society in Western and Central Europe, just as the decision on independence for India may change the social structure of all Asia. Its announcement by Mr. Bevin in the House of Commons was a decisive step toward the realization of democratic socialism in Europe.

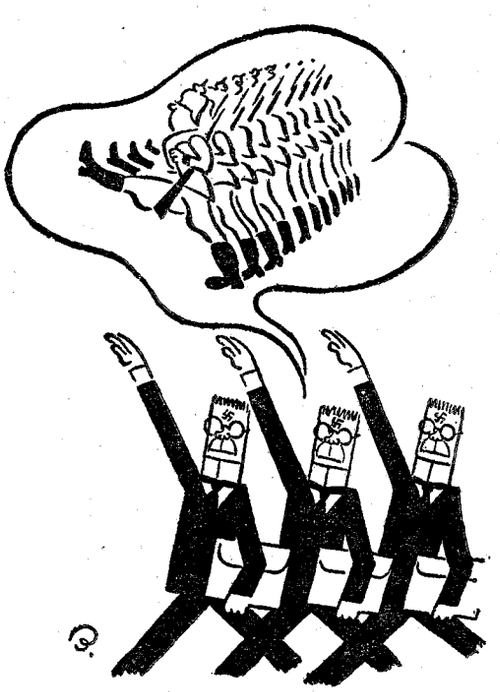
Some time ago the British government socialized the coal mines of the Ruhr. Then, in the summer of 1946, it placed steel production under the management of the British military authorities. These might be regarded as isolated acts, but Mr. Bevin's declaration that the chemical and engineering industries would also be socialized revealed that the British government has a systematic plan for the expropriation of German heavy industry, cartels, and monopolies. Mr. Bevin left no

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

doubt about the Labor government's program when he said, "Our intention is that these industries shall be owned and controlled in the future by the public. . . . They should be owned and worked by the German people, but subject to such international controls that they cannot again be a threat to neighbors. . . . The case for public ownership of these heavy industries was never stronger than it is in Germany today."

In embarking upon a policy of socialization for Germany, the British government is well aware that its ideas are not shared by the United States. It can hardly be an accident that Mr. Bevin chose to make his declaration concerning its intentions just as the economies of the American and British zones were being merged. He was informing Washington at the outset that he would give no support to the reconstruction of capitalism. Undoubtedly the British will encounter difficulties in carrying out their plans against American objections, but they start with the advantage of having most of the coal, iron, and steel production of Germany centered in their zone, especially in the Ruhr. Seventy-eight per cent of the coal, 72 per cent of the pig iron, and 72 per cent of the steel of Germany are produced in the British zone; none of the coal, 2 per cent of the pig iron, and 2 per cent of the steel, in the American. As for the other zones, 8 per cent of the coal, 14 per cent of the pig iron, and 14 per cent of the steel are produced in the French; 14 per cent of the coal, 12 per cent of the pig iron, and 12 per cent of the steel, in the Russian.

Controlling such a large proportion of these important commodities, the British, if they stand firm, will be in a strong position to introduce socialization, provided they can gain the mass support of the German people for the change. This should not be too difficult, for the election results in the British zone showed that the Social Democrats, whose program insists upon socialization, are the strongest party. The conditions under which the Social Democrats will cooperate with the British government were indicated in a resolution passed at a recent conference of party executives at Cologne, which was attended by delegates from the American and French as well as the British zone. After referring to the destitution of the people and to the responsibility of the Nazis for the state to which the country was reduced, the resolution declared: "In politics, economy, and administration the same powers rule which brought us to our present situation." And then followed a very important statement: "The German Social Democracy has for a long time observed this development with the greatest anxiety. Its repeated proposals and opinions have not led to any real changes in policy. It is not willing to assume political responsibility for conditions forced upon it. It makes its political cooperation dependent on binding promises."



A SHORT-TERM PROGRAM

The Cologne meeting also formulated a program to deal with the immediate present. This program covered three points—food, production, and finance. With respect to food, it demanded "that sufficient nutrition be assured and an equalization in the food supply between town and country be brought about." No lengthy documentation is needed to prove that even the increased food ration of 1,500 calories is absolutely insufficient. With the workers so undernourished, an increase in German production to the minimum figure set at Potsdam is impossible. People must get more than 2,000 calories a day if industrial activity in Germany is to be revived. And they cannot get it without larger food imports. Obviously, imported foodstuffs must be paid for by the export of German manufactured goods. But let us be clear about this. *Additional food imports must come first;* they are the indispensable prerequisite for increased production.

After food the prime necessity is an agreement among the occupation powers to permit the manufacture of homes, or barracks, furniture, crockery, clothing, and other articles which the millions who possess nothing but their ration cards must see in prospect if they are to work with any hope or energy.

These steps toward reconstruction must be accompanied from the very beginning by financial measures which are not mere technical devices. The injustice which permits the Nazis and their collaborators to live parasitically upon their former gains must be ended; the security of German democracy demands a drastic elimination of the advantages at present enjoyed by those who brought Germany to ruin. The debts of former German governments must be canceled, and all their obligations except provision for the care of invalids and the aged must be repudiated. Finally, as an absolute essential, a new currency must be created.

Such a program would of course encounter resistance from certain classes in Germany—former Nazis and their collaborators would know that their hour had struck—but it

LIBRARY
MIDDLE TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would be enthusiastically supported by the great majority of the population.

The United States will permit the socialization of Germany only slowly if at all, and only out of sheer necessity, for socialization runs counter to the policy so far followed in the American zone and to the capitalist tradition in which this country has been educated. But if it is done, the consequences will be decisive for world history. The issue is clear. Shall there be a continuation of the policy hitherto followed by the United States in Germany, which perpetuates the slum, favors the Nazis and their collaborators, and lays the foundation for a revival of neo-fascist, militarist tendencies; or shall there be a planned German economy—that is, socialization of the basic industries—and the resultant emergence of a democratic-socialist Germany? If Germany is reconstructed along democratic-socialist lines, the Socialist forces in the whole of continental Europe will be strengthened or rebuilt, and there will thus be developed a great independent center of political power between the Soviet Union on one side and the monopoly capitalism of the United States on the other.

China's Dark Destiny

BY PEGGY DURDIN

Nanking, China, January 3

THE recently adopted democratic constitution for China has had, outside of official circles, an extremely lukewarm reception. The dearth of rejoicing noted in even such moderately liberal papers as the *Ta Kung Pao* is due to the depressing realization that the promulgation of the constitution has solved none of China's pressing political problems and may in fact have complicated them.

Convocation of the National Assembly, in clear contravention of agreements reached by the all-party Political Consultative Conference last spring and, it is reported, against General Marshall's advice, was the signal for a decisive break in the year-old Communists vs. government negotiations. The Communists have since made it abundantly clear that they consider the Assembly illegal and the constitution it produced a "fake." No wonder there is little optimism about a constitution which instead of unifying the country solidifies its divisions. The character of the Assembly which produced the constitution would alone dampen enthusiasm for it. Although Chiang Kai-shek, through the political maneuvering of which he is a master, split the "third-party" front and brought the Social Democrats, the pro-Kuomintang Youth Party, and many reputable non-partisans into the Assembly, it remained in general an unrepresentative aggregation of Kuomintang and Kuomintang-approved delegates.

Moreover, the difficulty with which the government pushed this liberal draft constitution through the Assembly augurs ill for its implementation. Incorporating as it does certain basic principles laid down by the all-party P. P. C. Draft Constitution Committee last spring, it is a much more democratic document than the Kuomintang-sponsored draft of May, 1936, which it replaces. Chiang Kai-shek achieved the participation of the Youth Party and the Social Democrats in the Assembly—thereby rescuing it from being a blatantly one-party affair—by his promise that the revised draft would be adopted. He forced its passage in order to keep his word and to prevent the disastrous shock to American official and non-official opinion that adoption of a constitution markedly less democratic than the draft would have caused.

A very considerable number of the Kuomintang members of the Assembly, principally those "elected" ten years ago, were determined to destroy those very articles of the draft constitution which the Communists and other left parties in the Political Consultative Conference had thought most vital. Chiang Kai-shek cajoled and argued; he reminded party members that political expediency required the passage of the draft and that it could be legally amended at some later date. Chen Li-fu, head of the party's Board of Organization, tried—or at least made a pretense of trying—to whip the party into line. Finally, through the maximum exertion of his authority as party leader, Chiang subdued the revolt: he gave definite orders that no important changes in the draft could be made and invited Kuomintang members who would not follow his leadership to leave the party.

There is widespread disbelief that the Kuomintang is at all prepared to keep to schedule on handing power back to the people. Chen Li-fu recently likened the Kuomintang to a famous prime minister of ancient times, one I Ying. When Emperor T'ai Chia was young, he said, I Ying was accused of usurping the power. He refused to defend himself against the charge, saying simply that his actions would be understood in the future. When T'ai Chia came of age, I Ying retired from politics, voluntarily relinquishing his power to the proper au-

PEGGY DURDIN, China-born, was correspondent for Time *in Chungking during the war. She is the wife of Tillman Durdin, correspondent in China of the New York* Times, *and now lives in Nanking.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thority. Only then was the nobility of his motives recognized. The aptness of this analogy seems dubious.

The period of Kuomintang "tutelage" officially ends with the Presidential election next fall. Although funds for the party are noticeably absent from the current budget, there is little doubt that the Kuomintang will continue to draw on the public treasury this year. It will be the only well-financed party in the elections. Unless civil liberties are restored in China, so that parties in overt opposition to the Kuomintang can speak and write as they will, the free elections which form the basis of a constitutional democracy cannot be held. Elections that are boycotted by both the Communists and the Democratic League, China's only approximation of a liberal party, and that are contested by the Kuomintang, the Youth Party, and the Social Democrats under the present limitations on political activity would be hardly more than a form.

The new constitution is the work not only of the P. C. C. Draft Constitution Committee and the Legislative Yuan but of such constitutional authorities as Dr. Wang Chung-hui, secretary general of the Supreme National Defense Council; Dr. John C. H. Wu, Minister to the Vatican; and Carson Chang, head of the Social Democratic Party. It definitely provides for a democratic form of government, although in some ways a clumsy and inefficient one. The central government is to be composed of a large popularly elected National Assembly (a Sun Yat-sen conception), a President elected by the Assembly, and five "Yuans"—Legislative, Executive, Examination (civil service), Judicial, and Control (a combination of upper house and investigation committee).

The National Assembly, a huge body elected for a six-year term on an occupational as well as a geographical basis, has power not only to choose the President and Vice-President but to amend the constitution and, eventually, to exercise the rights of initiative and referendum.

The President has less power than the President of the United States. He is elected for a six-year term and may be reelected once. He chooses the head of the Executive Yuan (Prime Minister) and its other members with the consent of the Legislative Yuan. He appoints members of the Examination and Judicial Yuans with the consent of the Control Yuan. He proclaims pardons and amnesties, issues emergency orders which must be ratified within a month by the Legislative Yuan, represents the nation in foreign relations, summons disputing Yuans for consultation, and shares with the Legislative Yuan the power of declaring war, negotiating peace, and concluding treaties.

The Executive Yuan has a limited responsibity to the Legislative Yuan, which can question its members at any time and to which it must present reports. The Executive Yuan must comply with any laws passed by the Legislative Yuan or resign. It can request reconsideration of any bill passed by the Legislative Yuan, but on repassage of the bill by a two-thirds' majority the head of the Executive Yuan must comply or resign.

The Legislative Yuan, popularly elected for a three-year term by provinces, municipalities, Mongolian Leagues and "Banners," the "frontier regions" (Sinkiang), overseas Chinese, and occupational groups, is the highest lawmaking body of the state. Its financial control is limited by the qualification that it can decrease but not increase expenditures announced by the Executive Yuan.

The Control Yuan, elected by provincial and municipal councils, with representatives from Mongolian Leagues and Banners, Tibet, and overseas Chinese, has the power of impeachment, audits the Executive budget, and passes on certain Presidential appointments.

The constitution guarantees the customary protection of civil liberties, stating that they may not be "restricted by law" except "for preventing infringement of the freedom of other persons, averting an imminent crisis, maintaining social order, or promoting the public interest." Many Chinese view this qualifying clause with uneasy skepticism, having had the experience of being formally granted civil liberties which they have yet to enjoy.

The constitution comes into effect on Christmas Day, 1947. All enabling legislation must be passed in the first three months of this year.

The Communists have not only asserted the illegality of the constitution but criticized its provisions—its "abridgment of civil liberties" and its limitation of provincial autonomy and executive responsibility. The Democratic League, after some initial indecision, objects mainly to the method by which the constitution was adopted, declaring that since the Assembly was convoked in violation of P. C. C. decisions, the constitution was illegally drawn by the Kuomintang.

In some ways the adoption of the constitution is a political victory for Chiang Kai-shek. One of his chief objectives before the convocation of the Assembly seemed to be to isolate the Communists politically, to wean other parties from any alliance with them. In this he was partly successful; the Youth Party and Social Democrats broke with the Democratic League and most non-partisans followed suit.

Now that the constitution has been adopted by Kuomintang China and repudiated by the Communists, a section of Chiang Kai-shek's program for the near future seems fairly clear. Without making any real political concessions to the Communists, and sure of their refusal, he will probably invite them to join an interim reorganized government, as envisaged by the P. C. C., and to cooperate in the procedure of putting the constitution into effect. The State Council, an interim all-party governing body conceived by the P. C. C., in which the apportionment of seats was never settled, will be

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

organized. Probably the Youth Party, the Social Democrats, and some non-partisans will participate. The Executive Yuan, the number of whose members has recently been increased, may also be reorganized, with some of the less important portfolios given to persons outside the Kuomintang. The Legislative Yuan, charged with making a large number of vital enabling laws, may be enlarged.

Inclusion of non-Kuomintang men in the government is certainly a sound move. But without the participation of either the Communists or the Democratic League, and with a Kuomintang majority in all these organs, the Kuomintang's policies in the interim period can hardly be challenged.

It was evident some months ago that the Communists had changed their mind about participating in a coalition government; they had, no doubt, made a new interpretation of the Chinese and international scene. A Yenan New Year's editorial analyzed the present situation as follows: In the period since the end of the war, it said, "international conditions have greatly altered." On the one hand are the "American imperialists and their running dogs in all countries," who have replaced the fascists of Germany, Italy, and Japan. On the other is the "democratic worldwide united front," which will "certainly obtain the sympathy and support of the socialist Soviet Union." A severe economic crisis in the United States this year will "promote the formation of the worldwide democratic united front" and deal American imperialism a blow from which it will never recover. "The Chinese people must now carry on a struggle to the death with Chiang and American imperialism, their two natural enemies." Another phase of the struggle, the Communist leader, Mao Tse-tung, pointed out in a New Year's message, is "the daily swelling mass movement for democratic liberties on the part of all classes of people in areas under Kuomintang rule."

The Communists' strategy for the present seems to be to increase their political influence in their own and Kuomintang areas and to continue and intensify attrition warfare. By widespread guerrilla activity, by destruction of lines of communication, by sabotage, they will increase the economic dislocation of Kuomintang China. The Communists will utilize every available group—labor, the students, the Democratic League—to foster economic and political discontent.

Kuomintang China, the Communists believe, will be tremendously weakened by the people's dissatisfaction and the economic chaos. In this setting, and with possibly a more favorable international situation, the Communists will finally return to the conference table, their bargaining power enormously enhanced.

Letter from Paris

BY MICHAEL CLARK

Paris, January 18

LA FRANCE s'est donnée un chef!"—that phrase, betraying the relief felt everywhere in France that the provisional has at last given way to the full-fledged Fourth Republic, was the comment most often heard the day before yesterday when the news of Vincent Auriol's election as President was flashed over the air. France is just as beset with problems as it was before, but there can be no doubt that a new and welcome note of hope, rational or irrational, pervades the city today.

On Thursday evening the Presidential procession, returning from Versailles, swung down the Champs-Elysées in pomp between massed police and military pickets—Paris, with its incredible plethora of policemen, could easily afford that luxury—and headed toward the Elysée Palace, refurbished for the occasion. Some people in the crowd muttered enviously, "At least they [M. and Mme Auriol] have an apartment!" They have indeed, and a unique one. Built in 1718 for Henri de La Tour d'Auvergne, the Elysée has had a rather unusual succession of occupants, including Mme de Pompadour and the two Napoleons. For a time, under the Directory, a certain M. Howin rented it from its owner, Bathilde d'Orléans, Duchess of Bourbon, and turned it into a dance hall called the Bal de l'Elysée-Bourbon; he did a roaring business catering to the "*merveilleuses*" and "*incroyables*" of his day. The prosaic Third Republic used it as the residence of its Presidents, a precedent, among many others, faithfully followed by the Fourth.

In fact, the Fourth Republic's resemblance to its immediate predecessor seems to be its most striking characteristic. When one recalls that barely two years ago the slogan in vogue was, "*Nous voulons du neuf*," and when one sees what has actually happened, it is hard not to feel almost stupefied. The two republics, whether one takes their basic charters, the men at their head, or their methods, are almost as alike as two peas in a pod. In this connection the newspaper *Le Monde*, itself a worthy successor to that Third Republic institution *Le Temps*,

MICHAEL CLARK is The Nation's *representative in Paris. During the war he was attached to the Information Service of the French army in the Near East.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

comments: "Where is the flowering, so long awaited and expected, of new men, the young men of the resistance, of the national renaissance and renovation? 'From resistance to revolution,' said some; 'the States General of French rebirth,' said others. . . . What a deflation of presumptuous proclamations!" And, indeed, it is hard not to agree with *Le Monde* that in view of the abdication of the young men of the resistance France could do worse than rely on the wisdom and political experience of some of its elder statesmen, men like Léon Blum, Vincent Auriol, and, perhaps, Paul Ramadier, the new Premier.

The newly elected President of the Republic is, beyond a doubt, a pure product of the former regime. He was elected a Socialist deputy in 1914 by the citizens of his own bailiwick, the Haute-Garonne. In the period between the two wars he played a prominent role: he was Minister of Finances in 1936, Minister of Justice under Chautemps, Minister again in the second Blum Cabinet, and, finally, Minister of State under De Gaulle in 1945. An old Socialist faithful, M. Auriol often represented the French party at international Socialist congresses. The man he has chosen to head the government, Paul Ramadier, also a Socialist, is another veteran of the Third Republic; Under Secretary in the Blum Cabinet of 1936 and in the Chautemps Cabinet of 1937, he was Minister of Labor in Chautemps's second Cabinet and in Daladier's in 1938.

Léon Blum's interim government has now passed into history. Considering what had gone before, and especially the innumerable chestnuts left in the fire when Bidault retired, Blum did very creditably in the short time he had to work in. His was not a government of *salut publique;* it could not have been, for what it most lacked was continuity, the essential condition for real reform. But he did check, for a moment, the spiraling rise of prices and wages. He did, in London, manage to improve Anglo-French understanding. He did avoid coming to grief in Indo-China. His trick at the helm was short, but while it lasted he steered the ship of state skilfully enough to make its course steadier now than it was before. And that is tribute.

French men and women, in their daily bout with the material problem of existence, still acute, sometimes seem rather unconcerned about the larger problems of France's position in the world. Even the fighting in Indo-China, where the whole future of the French Union is at stake, has failed to give them a sense of urgency. Yet these problems remain and must be grappled with. One of them is the question of French participation in the exploitation of the Middle East's oil reserves. Last week the government, more aware than the public at large of the importance of this matter, protested in Washington and London against the proposed realignment of British and American oil interests in the Middle East. There can be no doubt that here in Paris this protest appeared justified. On a previous occasion, following the First World War, France was maneuvered into a back-seat position as regards Middle East oil; it thought it would get Mosul, but somehow Mosul fell to Britain.

Caricature by Berger

Vincent Auriol

In the end, the Compagnie Française des Pétroles obtained a 23.75 per cent interest in the Iraq Petroleum Company, an international cartel of American, British, and Dutch interests which holds the Mosul and Kirkuk concessions.

Now, however, the American participants in the Iraq Company —Standard Oil of New Jersey and the Socony-Vacuum Oil Company—have made a deal whereby they will acquire a 40 per cent share in the Saudi Arabian oil concessions held by Standard Oil of California and the Texas Company. The French protest is based on a secret agreement concluded in 1928 between France, Great Britain, and the United States; this agreement provides that none of the participants in the I. P. C. may acquire new concessions anywhere in the area covered by the former Ottoman Empire without bringing in the others. The present transactions are a clear violation of this agreement. And no one can expect the French to take much stock in the arguments put forward in London and in Washington to the effect that oil transactions in the Middle East between private companies are of purely commercial import or that the 1928 agreement was invalidated because of trading-with-the-enemy complications. The blunt fact is that the American interests, seriously worried by the diminution of domestic oil reserves, are going "all-out" for new sources of supply in the Middle East and are not hesitating to by-pass the rights of the French.

Another fly in the ointment has been the hue and cry that went up abroad when the French government announced that it had set up a customs barrier between the Saar and the rest of the French zone in Germany. The Washington *Post,* for instance, commented on this action in the following terms: "French Military Government officials insist that these operations are purely administrative. They say that no action will be taken which can really be called political without the consent of the Council of Foreign Ministers. But this assertion will convince nobody. The fact is that France has hammered another nail in the coffin of the Potsdam agreement. . . ."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the meantime the *Berliner Zeitung* (Russian license) has remarked, "France is sending extra food into the Saar just as the Nazis, in 1938, dropped tracts on Alsace saying, 'We are hastening to your aid.' It is the policy of the *coup de force,* of the accomplished fact, that we are witnessing today."

It is, of course, nothing of the kind. What the French want, and desperately need, is not the Saar territory or the Saarlanders but the Saar coal. To get the maximum production in the Saar mines, as in the mines of the Pas-de-Calais, extra food allocations to the miners constitute an elementary precaution. And, indeed, the French authorities are making a serious effort to assure a fairly satisfactory food supply in an industrialized and densely populated area. There is clearly no point in allowing supplementary rations sent to the Saar to be diverted through channels black or white into the rest of the French zone. The French policy of special treatment for the Saar is already paying off. William Attwood reports in the New York *Herald Tribune* that "thanks to the efforts of the region's 55,000 miners working twenty-four hours a day, on eight-hour shifts, the French have boosted daily coal output to 33,000 tons from less than 11,000 tons when the mining missions arrived from Paris to take over the mines in 1945." At present, of course, only 18 per cent of the Saar coal production goes to France, the rest being distributed, mostly in Germany, according to the directives of the London coal conference. What the French actually want is the bulk of the Saar coal and the control of the mines; they want that to count as reparations. The measures they have already taken as well as the proposals which they are likely to advance next March are motivated by this desire and not by any urge for territorial aggrandizement. The French have had enough experience in European affairs to know that a population which from 1814 to 1920 and from 1935 to 1945 was subjected to intense Prussianization is not going to throw itself into their arms simply because the Saar was French in the time of Louis XIV. But they do believe that the Saarlanders will welcome an economic or customs union with France if it helps their material well-being.

Highballing with Kilowatts

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Portland, Ore., January 30

AFTER the big 4-8-4 locomotives have snorted by, billows of smoke hang lazily in the mountain air. The smoke is thickest when extra coaches and mail cars have made the drive wheels slip on the steep grades between tidewater and the Inland Empire. In ragged shreds the smoke clings to the 230,000-volt transmission lines from Bonneville and Grand Coulee which cross and recross the twisting railroad track.

But why should any smoke at all hang over a railroad train when power from the world's greatest source of electric energy hums overhead?

Dr. Paul J. Raver, administrator of the huge government dams on the Columbia River, is asking this question of the eight transcontinental roads which run from the Continental Divide to the Pacific seaboard. It is certain to be a major subject of controversy in American railroading for many years. It may become a national issue if the country ever suffers a shortage of oil. At present diesel engines threaten to replace steam locomotives on nearly all the mountain divisions of the West, but the diesels in turn are threatened by electricity.

Most Western railroads burn oil. And as far back as 1940, before the drain of war, the National Resources Committee announced that the "country's oil supply must be considered strictly limited." Dr. Raver contends that the electrification of Western railroads would save 200,000,000 gallons of oil a year. He has in mind no piecemeal program, but wants to put all the 8,850 miles of main-line track in the West under trolley wires.

The undertaking would affect the trunk lines crossing the eleven Western states—California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Nevada, Montana, Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, Arizona, and New Mexico. It would begin at the eastern ramparts of the Rocky Mountains and extend to the seaport terminals on the Pacific. The operations of major railroads would be drastically revised—namely, of the Union Pacific, the Great Northern, the Southern Pacific, the Northern Pacific, the Santa Fe, the Milwaukee, the Western Pacific, and the Denver and Rio Grande.

When the late J. D. Ross, whom Raver succeeded, first called Grand Coulee Dam "an oil well that will never run dry, a coal mine that will never thin out," railroad executives were scornful. They said the cost alone made it ridiculous to talk of electrifying the sparsely traveled, single-track systems which thread the Rockies,

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER is an Oregon journalist whose articles on interesting developments in the Northwest—politics, power, conservation—appear frequently in The Nation *and other magazines.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

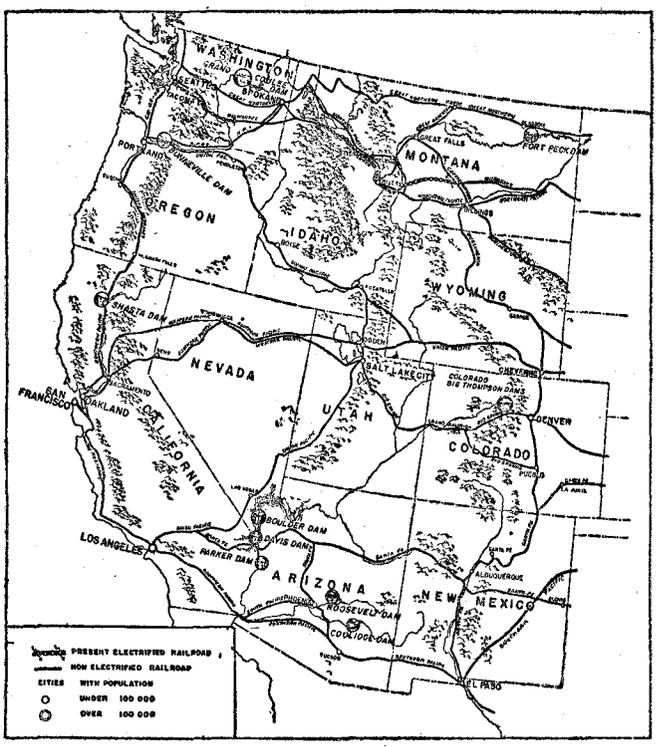
Bitter Roots, Cascades, and Sierras. Boards of directors are no longer scornful. On the paneled walls of their meeting rooms are charts showing the steady rise in the price of oil.

"When Bunker C hits $2 a barrel, I'll electrify," the president of one of the West's biggest lines told Ross. Bunker C, standard fuel for oil-burning locomotives, was then $1.05 a barrel. Today it is $1.55. As the price goes up, the interest of rail executives in Coulee and Bonneville power mounts proportionately. The Rio Grande is studying electrification of its Moffat Tunnel route, the highest crossing of the Rockies, and the Great Northern, which already has electrified a seventy-two-mile stretch across the hump of the Cascades, may string the wires all the way to Seattle.

According to classical railroad economics, electrification is inadvisable except in areas of great traffic density. Expensive catenary wires and power substations can be justified between New York and Washington on the double-tracked Pennsylvania, where trains run only a few minutes apart, but the long hauls across the emptiness of Wyoming and Montana are a different matter. More than 1,500 miles separate cities on the Northern Pacific. Can the heavy initial cost of electrification be amortized when schedules call for only four passenger trains every twenty-four hours?

Dr. Raver and his engineers are attacking this long-standing objection to running railroads by electricity from two salients. One is the conservation issue; the other is a rival system of economics—a system based on the lowest power rates in the world. Raver says it is "paradoxical to move trains by oil or coal in a region as abundantly supplied with inexhaustible hydroelectricity as the Far West." America's oil may give out some day. The Columbia and the Colorado will flow downhill through their deep gorges as long as this geological epoch endures. Trains, moreover, are the only form of transportation which can be hooked to central-station power. Planes, ships, automobiles—none of these can take their energy from a wire; all must burn expendable fuels.

Federal dams on the swift mountain rivers of the West have an ultimate capacity of 4,604,000 kilowatts. Approximately one-fourth of this power—1,250,000 kilowatts—would move every train from the edge of the Great Plains to the Pacific. A few weeks ago the Columbia River Power Administration applied to the Federal Power Commission for permission to set up a special rate schedule for railroads. The basic charge would be 4 mills a kilowatt-hour, which may be compared, roughly, to the 7.5 mills paid by the Pennsylvania for power on the line that is the most successful example of railroad electrification in the United States. Juice bought from private power companies has cost the Milwaukee twice as much on its electrified mountain divisions in Washington state and Montana. Electricity at 4 mills a kilowatt-hour delivered to the trolley is the economic foundation of Dr. Raver's argument.



In 1937 J. D. Ross and Franklin Roosevelt rode down the lava chasm of the Columbia behind a Union Pacific oil-burning 4-8-2 and decided that it was wasteful to use this type of prime-mover a stone's throw from a river where 42 per cent of the water power of the nation was lurking. In the decade since then the diesel engine has largely replaced steam on Western railroads, and it is against the efficiency and cost of this kind of power that the advantages of electrification must be measured.

A diesel locomotive is a power plant on wheels. It generates its own electricity. An electric locomotive picks up energy from an overhead wire. Diesels, because they create their power, are considerably more expensive than electrics. But electrics require costly trolley systems. The cost of the two installations on the Great Northern's 180-mile Inland Empire division, just south of Grand Coulee Dam, is compared in the following table:

	Diesel	*Electric*
Trolley system		$ 4,250,000
Power substations		1,750,000
Communication and signal changes		800,000
Diesel fuel stations	$ 100,000	
Locomotives	4,900,000	3,200,000
	$5,000,000	$10,000,000

On the basis of these figures diesel power has all the best of it. Why string thousands of miles of trolley wire when one can use locomotives that generate their own electricity? But installation costs are not the alpha and omega of the problem. Diesel locomotives wear out

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

quicker. Their maintenance is costly, and they must often be replaced, whereas the Milwaukee's original electrics still haul twenty-car passenger trains up the 2 per cent grade above Butte. Below are the estimates of Raver and his staff for the operation costs of the rival systems on the Inland Empire division:

	Diesel	*Electric*
Maintenance of trolley		$ 30,000
Maintenance of locomotives	$ 350,000	175,000
Engine crew expenses	600,000	450,000
Depreciation of trolley system		140,000
Depreciation of locomotives	300,000	130,000
	$1,250,000	$925,000

General Motors, principal manufacturer of diesel equipment, has challenged many of these figures. It contends that diesels are constantly being improved and that Raver's statistics on depreciation are weighted in favor of electric locomotives. Wenatchee, Washington, a division point on the Great Northern, is one of the few places in America where the rival claims can be tested. Diesels and oil-burning steam locomotives bring trains in from the East. Electrics take them on over the Cascade Range and down to the forests above Puget Sound.

J. F. N. Gaynor, Great Northern superintendent at Wenatchee, says it costs 22.8 cents a locomotive mile for maintenance under electric operation and 42 cents under diesel operation. One reason for the cheaper electric maintenance, he says, is that a smaller locomotive will attain the same horse-power as a larger diesel. Diesels on the Great Northern with 4,800 rail-horse-power are 196 feet long; electrics with 6,000 rail-horse-power are only 147 feet, 6 inches. The railroad paid $3,368,338 for eighteen electric-locomotive units totaling 42,300 rail-horse-power. Thus each single electric horse-power cost the company $80. It is paying $500,000 apiece for diesel locomotives of 4,800 rail-horse-power, which make each diesel horse-power cost $104.

Both diesels and electrics have their champions among the gauntleted engineers who wait at Wenatchee to take the control of trains bound east and west. But most of the engine crews agree that the electrics have "a little more soup" when 100 freight cars are strung out on a 2 per cent grade. A survey on the Rio Grande showed that a 196-foot diesel locomotive could haul 29 loaded freight cars from Denver to Moffat Tunnel at a speed of 22 miles an hour, but that an electric engine only 85 feet long could haul 47 loaded freight cars at the same speed.

Yet even with Dr. Raver's 4-mill power rate beckoning to them, railroad executives in the West are hesitant. They are naturally timid—their predecessors had to be browbeaten into adopting George Westinghouse's air brake—and they know they can convert to diesels one piece of equipment at a time. Diesel and steam operations can be synchronized. The purchase of one diesel locomotive is no Rubicon; the road can always return to mallets. The change-over to electrification, however, must be done at one fell swoop in Dr. Raver's plan. On the most conservative estimate, it would cost $440,000,000 to electrify all main lines west of Denver. This sum would be divided as follows:

Trolley system and poles	$160,000,000
Trackside substations	120,000,000
Electric locomotives	160,000,000

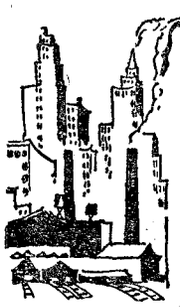
Western railroaders look at their skimpy schedules and ponder. Even during a peak war-time year the Southern Pacific carried less than half the tonnage of the Chesapeake and Ohio. The Milwaukee's electrified divisions have not been prosperous—although Bonneville engineers insist the railroad has been milked to pay exorbitant rates to power companies.

In the end the fate of Dr. Raver's program for railroad electrification will probably be determined by the price of oil. Diesel fuel now costs the lines approximately 7.2 cents a gallon at tidewater and is of course more expensive in the Inland Empire and Tonto Basin. With oil at 7.2 cents, the railroads probably will continue to buy diesel equipment. But not long ago oil was considerably less than 7.2 cents. If its price continues to mount, the railroads will be attracted by Dr. Raver's 4-mill electricity. Nor can the possibility be entirely dismissed that diesel oil will become unavailable. A spokesman for one oil company told the railroads to "start putting up poles and trolley wires because we won't be selling you diesel fuel much longer."

Another unknown factor is how long the Columbia River Power Administration can continue selling energy at the present low price. An industrial rate of only 2 mills a kilowatt-hour has proved that the Columbia can produce the cheapest power in the world. But Raver and his predecessor, Ross, have had to be constantly on guard to maintain this rate against the attacks of the private utilities and their spokesmen in Congress. As long as Roosevelt lived, the Columbia River program was safe. Even after his death, it got passive support from the Administration. Now Representative Jensen and his fellow-Republicans will "not vote one red cent for the Columbia Basin project unless there is a sensible increase in Pacific Northwest power rates." Eastern industrial interests, aware that the 2-mill rate in Oregon and Washington contains a threat to their dominance, have long insisted that Bonneville and Coulee charges be increased.

If the Columbia River Power Administration gets the ax in the new Congress, railroad electrification in the West will be only one of the casualties. Perhaps those 200,000,000 gallons of oil burned now along the banks of foaming mountain torrents may be lamented on some future day when "heaven is falling."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Hogs Around the Sugar Bowl

AMERICAN housewives have good reason to hope that they will be able to buy more sugar this year without paying a higher price for it provided that (a) rationing and price control are maintained, (b) the government resists the politicians and business men who are pressuring it to make a grab at the world's sugar bowl.

Unless there is new legislation, sugar rationing will end on April 1, and price ceilings will lapse on July 1. Most experts on the subject, including many in the food trades, believe that both controls should continue at least until the end of this year. At recent hearings by the food-investigation subcommittee of the House Agriculture Committee, several spokesmen for the sugar industry warned that a premature return to a free market would have disastrous effects. They recalled the wild scramble that occurred at the end of World War I when refined sugar shot from 9 to 26 cents a pound in five months. Since supplies are unlikely to catch up with demand until 1948, the abolition of controls would surely make sugar more costly and probably diminish stocks on the grocers' shelves, for in a free market industrial users would be able to secure a bigger share than at present.

In view of these facts, action by Congress to continue the authority for rationing and price ceilings is imperative. Unfortunately delay may be caused by the current agitation directed towards obtaining for the United States a larger share of world supplies. Some elements in the sugar trade have been putting out misleading propaganda about the way "our sugar" is being shipped abroad and egging on Congressmen to attack the government's arrangements with other countries.

Because there is still a universal shortage of sugar, we are adhering to a war-time agreement to insure an equitable distribution of supplies. Under this scheme the United States keeps its entire domestic production, including that of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Hawaii, and is allowed enough of the Cuban output to give it in all 20 per cent of the total world supply. This adds up to a very fair share, considering that before the war the United States accounted for 19 per cent of world consumption. Moreover, other sugar-importing countries have agreed not to bid for Cuban sugar but to allow the United States to contract for the whole crop as agent for the International Food Emergency Council, which allots shares to the various countries participating. It is not true, therefore, that any "American" sugar is being sent to Europe. The consignments leaving our ports represent Cuban sugar allocated to Europe but shipped here first for refining.

These facts are perfectly well known to those who have been telling housewives that they are being deprived of sugar for the benefit of Europe. The obvious aim of these propagandists is to upset the international distribution scheme, and as justification they argue that this country has some sort of prescriptive right to the Cuban crop. Thus a circular issued by Lamborn and Company, New York sugar brokers, declares: "Sugar has been dished out liberally by our government to foreign nations who normally do not secure their supplies in the West Indies. . . . The production of the United States and that which it buys belongs to the American people and not to a handful of bureaucrats."

The immediate concern of those who are urging that Americans should hog the sugar bowl is to obtain for this country the whole of the estimated 1,500,000-ton increase in the Cuban crop now being processed. Under present arrangements we shall get a considerable part of this additional sugar, enough to permit an appreciable increase in the ration, but Representative August A. Andresen of the House Agriculture Committee wants us to "take all." It is to the credit of Secretary of Agriculture Anderson that, while asking the international council for an allotment which will give us some twenty pounds more sugar per head, he has refused to agree to a policy of unilateral grab. In a statement on January 7 he said, "The countries that trusted us to act as sole buyers have a right to expect that the crop will be handled as a pool in which they can share as they did in the war years. Our integrity is at stake."

Apart from being a breach of faith, a "take-all" policy would be against the interests of American consumers, although it would no doubt afford a few speculators the chance to make a killing. The purchase contract made by the Department of Agriculture for the 1946 crop provided for a price pegged to the cost of living. It has meant a considerable advance over 1945 but has given Cuba a smaller return than it would have obtained in the open market with all the sugar-hungry countries bidding for supplies. Were the United States now to invalidate the world allocation agreement, both Cuba and the members of the International Food Emergency Council could legitimately claim that the contract had been voided. In the ensuing competitive struggle the weight of its purse might make America the winner, but the cost, in both economic and moral terms, would be heavy indeed. The price of sugar to consumers would be pushed right through the present ceiling, and it would be difficult to maintain either price control or rationing.

While on the subject of sugar I should like to call attention to some remarks of Senator Hugh Butler, who, commenting on the situation, said on Christmas Day, "Possibly what we need is just a plain, old-fashioned tariff to protect this important industry." Unless the sugar program of recent years was changed, he added, less sugar would be produced in the United States, and "we will become more and more dependent on imports." It appears that the Nebraska Republican does not know that American sugar producers have long had the benefit, not only of an old-fashioned tariff, but of quotas and subsidies as well. And that is one of the causes of our present troubles, for although the quota restriction on Cuban sugar has been suspended since 1942, the Cuban growers have had every reason to fear that it would be reinstated as soon as the situation was normal, leaving them with a heavy burden of surplus production. We can be thankful that, despite this discouragement, they have nearly doubled their pre-war output.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

A GROUP of Catholic laymen have approached one and possibly two of the major networks in an attempt to buy a network quarter-hour of prime time on which to present Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen in a weekly program giving "the Catholic viewpoint on world affairs." Sheen converted Clare Luce, Louis Budenz, and the late Heywood Broun. He would undoubtedly pack a powerful punch on the air. Networks have refused the business thus far, for the entire situation is loaded with dynamite. The riddle is why the request was made in the first place.

The television broadcasters—NBC, CBS, Du Mont, and Philco—joined together to cover the opening of Congress last month, and though it was the high-spot of "video," not a camera carried a name plate. It seems the telecasters fought so over which camera was to carry which name that the only possible solution was to have no names visible.

LaGuardia's program on Mutual is available for local sponsorship, and that includes trade unions, co-ops, and progressive groups. The ex-Mayor of New York has a clause in his contract providing for such sponsorship when available. Farm co-ops in the Middle West have already signed up. If you have been worried about the dearth of liberal commentators, here is your chance to do something about it.

The next time you hear someone panning the Federal Communications Commission, remind him that on a conservative estimate the FCC has saved consumers $125,000,000 in telephone-rate reductions alone. This year the FCC has asked for a budget of about $7,000,000; in other words, here is one department that costs the taxpayer nothing.

Du Mont recently demonstrated a device for transmitting television on a beam of light instead of the expensive coaxial cable. The technique has been used by radio hams for years, and is not unlike the familiar heliograph method of communication. Du Mont claims it can set up television transmitters and relay stations using the beam-of-light system for a fraction of what the cable system would cost. The only trouble would be fog, and Du Mont says it has this licked.

It sounds far-fetched, but don't laugh. Westinghouse demonstrated its "stratovision" transmitting facility—using airplanes circling overhead as a transmitting station—and proved it feasible.

One of the big headaches of radio is the annual shift to daylight-saving time and the later return to standard time. Not every community changes its time, and when programs come through an hour later or earlier local sponsors take away their business. Network stations nearly go crazy trying to reschedule their programs.

A bill now before Congress may ease the situation. Backed by radio stations and department stores and retailers in the District of Columbia, the bill would put Washington on daylight-saving time. The movie lobby is fighting the bill because a longer period of daylight cuts into the evening business at the film houses. If the bill is passed, Virginia and Maryland will be forced to go along since so many people who work in the capital live outside.

If commercial stations drive you nuts and you crave radio without recurrent advertising, then by all means save this column. If you live near any of the schools mentioned below, you may be able to tune into the Intercollegiate Broadcasting System. Programs are sponsored, but the commercial spots are brief and few. Technically you should not be able to hear these stations on your regular set since they have minute power and broadcast over the power lines between dormitories. But when the power load is high, the program seeps through and can be heard two miles away.

Right now there are Intercollegiate stations at the University of Alabama, at Tuscaloosa; Brigham Young University at Provo, Utah; Brown University at Providence, Rhode Island; Bucknell University at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania; Columbia in Manhattan; University of Connecticut at Storrs, Connecticut; Cornell at Ithaca, New York; Hamilton College at Clinton, New York; Harvard at Cambridge, Massachusetts; Haverford College at Haverford, Pennsylvania; MacMurray College at Jacksonville, Illinois; Mary Washington College at Fredericksburg, Virginia; Ohio University at Athens, Ohio; University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia; Princeton in New Jersey; Radcliffe College at Cambridge, Massachusetts; Stanford at Palo Alto, California; Stevens College at Columbia, Missouri; Swarthmore College at Swarthmore, Pennsylvania; Union College at Schenectady, New York; Wellesley College at Wellesley, Massachusetts; Wesleyan University at Middletown, Connecticut; Williams College at Williamstown, Massachusetts; and Yale at New Haven.

Coming are stations at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio; Baylor University at Waco, Texas; Bryn Mawr at Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania; Carnegie Tech at Pittsburgh; Colorado State College at Greeley, Colorado; Dickinson College at Carlisle, Pennsylvania; Georgetown University at Washington, D. C.; University of Idaho at Moscow; University of Illinois at Urbana; Knox College at Galesburg, Illinois; Lafayette at Easton, Pennsylvania; Lehigh University at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; McGill University at Montreal; Miami at Oxford, Ohio; Mohawk College at Utica, New York; Montana State at Bozeman; North Carolina State at Raleigh; University of Oklahoma at Norman; Olivet Nazarene College at Kankakee, Illinois; College of the Pacific at Stockton, California; Rutgers at New Brunswick, New Jersey; St. Lawrence University at Canton, New York; University of South Carolina at Columbia; Texas State at Benton; and Trinity College at Hartford, Connecticut.

The best listening is at night when power use is high. Telephone the university and ask for the station wave length, then tune in, and pray you can get it.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Citizen and the Ideal

THE BLUE FLOWER: BEST STORIES OF THE ROMANTICS. Edited by Hermann Kesten. Roy Publishers. $5.

DOES some large or small prose "masterpiece" of the romantic period exist that has never received its due, shut up in the thorny language of some smaller European country—say, Poland or Hungary? This question often crosses the mind of the person interested in the literature of the romantic period. Hermann Kesten, by gathering together forty-five stories from thirteen countries, including the United States, has helped to answer it. He has arranged his material sensibly—chronologically according to country, so that we can see at a glance where the selection came from and when it was written.

The interplay of literary influence between country and country just before and after the Napoleonic wars was remarkably active. And it was one of the few times in history when prose fiction, or the chronicle of events, influenced poetry. The imaginations of Vigny and Pushkin were ignited by the works of Walter Scott in much the same way that Baudelaire was to be inflamed by the works of Poe. The poetry remains vivid; the prose on the whole does not. The total effect of these romantic tales, short stories, and excerpts from longer works that Kesten has gathered from all corners of Europe is thin and slight. The editor, it is true, has emphasized romantic idealism, as his title, drawn from Novalis, shows. He has almost entirely eliminated, moreover, romantic horror in favor of romantic ardor. The fear and terror, of a semi-religious intensity, which streaked through early romantic writing is only suggested here. This relative lack of romanticism's "night-side" results in an insipidity and minorness of tone, particularly noticeable in the English section of the anthology, which might easily have begun with a selection from Beckford's "Vathek" (1797) and finished with a scene from "Wuthering Heights" (1847). Instead, the editor starts out with a damp little graveyard piece by Mary Lamb and ends with a meek piece of sentiment by Robert Southey.

The selection is broader and better in the other national divisions. The level is generally that of "light reading"; but that level was usual, in the period of a new audience and the rise of the periodical and cheap reading matter in general.

It is rather pleasant to imagine the new bourgeois audience reading this fiction; the citizen or, more especially, the citizeness in the newly peaceful atmosphere of the thirties, the period to which about a third of the material belongs; in Louis Philippard or Biedermeyer interiors or, as the illustrator so charmingly depicts them, out in the fresh air, under trees. One superficial hindrance to our enjoyment of these stories—their lack of technical skill—did not trouble those early readers; the skilful *conte* had not been invented, and the only suspense they were familiar with was traditional fairy-tale suspense, several examples of which Kesten sensibly includes. Another, more significant difference between the early nineteenth-century reader and ourselves is the shift in moral and emotional values which, taking place later in the century, shut us off from these readers and writers as by a wall. Power was soon to become "the moral ideal of the bourgeois age." These tales were pre-power; and the code of their first readers was still medieval, in spite of civil and religious revolutions. In their fiction everything was exteriorized. The tragic scene had not yet shifted from without to within.

The trappings of early and middle romantic fiction have since been degraded to the childish or comic; they are still, however, full of interest if examined from a historical and psychological point of view. The full collision between romantic ferment and industrial vigor has not yet occurred. The naive imagination is still able to wander at will in its day-dream—unhampered by self-analysis or the need for scientific proofs. This is the last generation—we are still in the thirties—which, in the graphic arts, was to come down to us in its own version of itself, for the camera was about to arrive, along with the railroads and the gas-works. It is, as well, the last innocently to expose its simpler and cruder unconscious motives in fiction. In this period of reverie and comparative idealism, between two eras of power and moral earnestness, emotional absolutes could be openly stated and openly yearned for. Absolute love, absolute ideals of honor, absolute hatred of treason, absolute grief, and absolute revenge—personifications of these attributes flash through the pages. The play of mockery and humor comes in, it is true; but for the most part rather late.

It was reassuring as well as thrilling, then, to read of lovers' assignations in the church or in the shadow of the prison, since these two locales had only recently been drained of their power and menace. It was exciting to play with religious symbolism while shuddering at religious "superstition." Or one could give backward glances toward the customs and amorous pleasures of the old regime, reading, say, Gautier's "Omphale" or Pushkin's "Queen of Spades"; or remember, with Vigny, the military virtues of fortitude and self-abnegation; or glance, with Musset, at "Bohemia" and the kind-heartedness of grisettes; or hear, in many stories, "the tones of a piano" or of a violin: those instruments that were already becoming, in the hands of romantic virtuosi, "absolute" romantic symbols. Or one could imagine the secrets of some "insatiable" romantic hero, expressed by "sighs, groans, solitary walks, sudden paroxysms, incoherent speech, lethargic or feverish sleep." Madness, eccentricity, tuberculosis; abduction, rape, murder, poisoning: all these subjects appealed to the citizen reader. And throughout these stories the sound of tears is constant: "Tears streamed down his cheeks"; "Tears started to my eyes." Part of this weeping was fashion, but not all. The ability to describe and to enjoy the description of this open feeling points to hearts more vigorous and more malleable than our own. It is the freshness and exuberant youth of these tears that touch us, for we know ourselves to be incapable of them.

Naivete of this kind soon came up against its correctives.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Flaubert's ruthless insight into his own romantic youth produced the word "Bovaryism." And this citizen audience, even as it reads in its parlor and parks, is being observed—no longer with Balzac's type-casting eye, but with the insight of Turgenev and others. "Delicate pathos and subtle emotional nuance" are soon to replace the high colors and the cloak and dagger. The shift from the outer to the inner scene is about to take place. The search for some exterior symbol of mankind's yearning for justice and splendor, human if not divine, will still exist, but an inner set of symbols will be sought for, and found. Kesten's effort, therefore, in his introduction to draw a parallel between our own and early romantic times is a mistaken one. It is a different *malaise* which now afflicts us, and pure and naive idealism cannot be our cure. It is to Flaubert and Baudelaire that we instinctively turn—toward those later men who first succeeded in entering into the modern consciousness and the modern "scene," to plot out the complicated and terrible dimensions of both. And our questions, if we are sane, are no longer absolute ones. LOUISE BOGAN

Typical Cartels

CARTELS IN ACTION. By George W. Stocking and Myron W. Watkins. The Twentieth Century Fund. $4.

TO THE extensive material now available on cartels this adds something that so far as I know is not substantially duplicated elsewhere. There have been attacks on cartels, defenses of them, and attempts to occupy a judicious middle ground. There have been analyses of the cartel problem to support a program. This volume contains a series of case studies of single representative cartels, showing the situation out of which each developed, its history, its methods, and the results achieved. Since the book attempts to offer no judgment or policy—that is to follow in a future publication of the Twentieth Century Fund—there is room for a reasonably full factual account of the cases chosen. The reader emerges with so much the better sense of the setting of cartel action, its place in economic evolution, the way its leaders think and act.

The cases chosen extend all the way from raw products to highly fabricated manufactures—sugar, rubber, nitrogen, steel, aluminum, magnesium, electric lights, and chemicals. They range from controls exercised for the benefit of small, numerous, and nearly helpless competitors to controls imposed to enhance monopoly profits by the practice of the higher stratagems of big business. Though I started to read it in the mood of one learning about economic processes, I found myself again and again fascinated by a record of diplomacy or intrigue. The ingenuity of the human mind in devising schemes for government—that is, for harmonizing the actions of individualists toward common ends—is in itself marvelous, no matter what we may think of the ends. Phoebus, for instance, the international electric-lamp cartel, is so much like a political state that it has not only an arbitration board but a general assembly.

I do not know what the Fund's committee will decide after reading this study, but at least two conclusions seem inevitable. One is that business men, by and large, simply will not compete if there is any way for them to act in their joint interest. The little ones who may be forced to the wall combine for sheer protection; the big ones do not want to risk their vast accumulations in warfare if they can pool their patents or work out spheres of influence. Cooperation, not competition, is the natural law of private enterprise. It is no wonder, according to the authors' estimate, that of 1939 sales in the United States, 87 per cent, by value, of mineral products, 60 per cent of agricultural products, and 42 per cent of manufactured products were cartelized.

The other conclusion is that the means of monopoly control are so highly varied, and are adapted so peculiarly to special industrial situations, that no general law could possibly be applied in such a way as to force businesses to compete, especially if they don't want to.

What happens to private enterprise in these circumstances? I hope the Twentieth Century Fund will be able to tell us. GEORGE SOULE

Surrealism in Chile

RESIDENCE ON EARTH. By Pablo Neruda. Translated by Angel Flores. New Directions. $3.

EXCEPT for some slips, no doubt the result of occupational fatigue, the translations by Angel Flores of these pieces are exactly as good as the original Spanish. They are not extraordinary, in spite of what the publisher's dust jacket tells us, but rather what is known as "faithful." Spanish, unlike other Romance languages, is easily set over into English—unless one is dealing with exceptional writers like Quevedo or Lorca; and the confluence of style in Cervantes's Spain and Elizabethan England has not run dry even today. The Spanish language is beautiful; so far as pure sound is concerned the simplest phrase becomes a melopoeic marvel: "Favor de darme otro vaso de agua," or "Tenga usted la bondad de traerme otra toalla." The danger then, for a Spaniard with the gift of volubility and megalomania, is that he should lack one unscrupulously honest friend possessing a critical cast of mind.

In two hundred closely printed pages, representing fifty pieces Neruda wrote between 1925 and 1945, there are extremely few good poems. Neruda's verse is without form, usually rhetorical in the bad sense of the word. The same recurring surrealist props—"salt," "leather," "onions," "ashes," "sulphur"—make me feel that an elephant has swept his trunk around a grocery store rather than a storehouse of the collective unconscious. *Ut pictura poesis;* but one could wish that Neruda had seen less of Dalí and more of Chirico.

The average of his output can only be indicated by quotation—I pick out the worst on purpose because even his best is inextricably mixed up with it:

> It is feet and clocks and fingers
> and a locomotive of moribund soap,
> and a sour sky of damp metal,
> and a yellow river of smiles.

or, from a romantic poem:

> O Girl among the roses, O presence of doves,
> O prison of fish and rosebushes . . .

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Unfortunately I have nothing to give you but fingernails
or eyelashes or melted pianos . . .

The ghost of Lorca's ghost constantly moves, uneasily and unwilling, between Neruda's lines. More overtly, the "Ode to Federico García Lorca" is a bathetic descant on the "Llanto por Ignacio Sanchez Mejías."

Its ending is egregiously condescending:

Thus is life, Federico—
this is all
the friendship of a melancholy virile man can offer.
Already you have learned many things by yourself
and others you will be learning gradually, with time.

Neruda, a Chilean, was in Madrid during the civil war. The middle section of his book consists of political verse:

I have written about time and about water
I have described mourning and its purple metal
I have written about the sky and the apple,
now I write about Stalingrad.

And I'm afraid this about sums it up. The men who did know how to write about the Spanish war—Ramón Sender, Antonio Machado, or André Malraux—are at the other pole of the ineptitude and presumptuous romanticism of:

. . . I have not forgotten your misfortunes, I know
your sons . . .
O mothers transfixed by anguish and death,
look into the heart of the noble day being born,
and know that your dead ones smile beneath the earth
lifting their clenched fists over the wheatfields.

His patriotic verse (General Song of Chile) is woven of the same texture.

Most of this book is a litter of the surrealism of 1924, by Dada out of the First World War. There was potential validity in the *collages* of Max Ernst, in automatic writing, in the *rayogrammes* of Man Ray, the *papiers déchirés* of Hans Arp. Also in the game of Exquisite Corpses played by the original surrealists in Paris, which Eluard called "collectively determined poetry." Five people would sit around a table. Each one wrote on a sheet of paper a substantive which was to be the subject of a sentence. After folding the sheet of paper so that the word written on it was hidden, he passed it along to his lefthand neighbor, who added an adjective. The next person added a verb, and so on. Results: "The exquisite corpse will drink the new wine"; "The dormitory of friable little girls rectifies the vile box"—the similarity of this to a great deal of Neruda's writing is obvious. These games, to be sure, were played by the most intellectual poets in Europe but only as a preparation for their real poetry. "Automatism," André Breton wrote, "is good because it is a sure method for the translation of one's interior irrationality, but it is valid only in proportion as it gives us communicable elements." He also said, "Modern man's reason sets as a goal for itself nothing so much as the continuous assimilation of the irrational."

Neruda seems to me to approach this only in the poetry written between 1925 and 1935, and here the ambience is symbolist rather than surrealist.

To the American reader, because these poems are only now available in translation, they have a historical rather than an intrinsic interest. In tone and spirit they belong to the Parisian 1920's; yet though they seem to strive after it, they lack the factitious paranoid fury of the early Aragon and the absolute, quiet, anagogic certainty of Eluard.

RENÉ BLANC-ROOS

BRIEFER COMMENT

. . . Unreal City !

WASHINGTON, that most puzzling, feverish, and unreal of cities, has never been properly set down in words. Such an undertaking requires the talents of a novelist, not of a reporter or historian; and American novelists, for some reason, have never been much interested in politics above the level of municipal corruption. We have nothing in our literature to compare with, say, the Gurau episodes in "Men of Good Will."

Jonathan Daniels has not written a novel, but he has something of the faculty he ascribes to one of his characters, a woman who saw the old Judge, as she saw all others, "not as a figure in history but as a character in the never-written novel about Washington." "Frontier on the Potomac" (Macmillan, $2.75) is meandering and often purposeless in form, and the style sometimes leans so far backward in the pursuit of casualness that it develops its own preciosities. But Daniels has an eye for character, an eye for significant detail, and a strong sense of atmosphere. Moreover, in an unpretentious way the book manages to pack in a good deal of information and of insight. The chapter on the Supreme Court, for example, is wiser than it seems and a good deal more to the point than most recent liberal comment on the court. Life, even among high officials and eminent politicians, is still basically human in its motivation. "Frontier on the Potomac" catches a good many private nuances in the government as it exists "between the human swarm and the constitutional abstraction."

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

Changing Congress

CONGRESS IS LIKELY to receive more public attention during the next two years than it has had for a generation. Dr. George B. Galloway, who was staff director for the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, is fortunate in his timing of the publication of "Congress at the Crossroads" (Crowell, $3.50). But there is still no evidence that the public has any real interest in modernizing the organization of the federal government.

Although most of the book was written before passage of the La Follette-Monroney Congressional Reorganization Act last summer, and part of it is an argument for reforms which are now law, Galloway's discussion of the way Congress works is not in the least dated. At best, the Reorganization Act is a small step toward bringing the machinery of the national legislature up to date, and it scarcely attempts to attack the fundamental problems of a representative democracy in the twentieth century.

Galloway raises fundamental questions, such as whether a representative should vote according to the will of his con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stituents or his own conscience, and it is no criticism of the book to say that every reader will disagree with some of his conclusions. It would be encouraging if any considerable number of Americans could be persuaded to think at all about such questions.

There is, however, some reason for the average citizen's lack of interest in the way his government works. Because the Republican and Democratic parties do not differ basically in political philosophy, both parties must try continually to anticipate, or at least to follow, public opinion. And they have succeeded well enough to make the United States almost the only country where practically all citizens are complacently satisfied with their form of government.

But the government machinery creaks more and more under the strains of an unstable world, and Congress in particular is poorly adapted to meet public demands for drastic change. In war or serious depression Congress tends to become a rubber stamp for the executive, and asserts its own authority almost exclusively by obstruction, practically never by initiating useful measures.

The framers of the United States Constitution undoubtedly intended to keep the government conservative by the separation and balance of powers among the Congress, the President, and the Supreme Court. Congress itself has accentuated this tendency by its own rules and traditions, almost all of which constitute additional barriers to change.

"Congress at the Crossroads" makes all of this very clear, with detailed explanations and case histories. But the author is not very optimistic about the possibilities of basic reform. Perhaps his book will help more people to realize that the mechanics of government are important, as well as the personalities.

CHARLES E. NOYES

Scientists at War

FOR THE *NATION* READER the value of "Scientists Against Time" by James Phinney Baxter, 3d (Little, Brown, $5), will probably lie in the direction it may give to his thoughts about the social utilization of scientific knowledge. It is a well-written and solidly documented history of the work of the Office of Scientific Research and Development. The first group of chapters contains an adequate prefatory account of the race for superiority in new weapons; the remaining five sections cover Development in Weapons, Chemistry and War, Military Medicine, Men and Machines, and the Atomic Bomb.

One cannot escape a certain melancholy in reading Mr. Baxter's description of the patient effort, the brilliance, and the remarkably sensible organizational methods that marked our scientific pursuit of the power to destroy. From time to time, as in the recent case of the synthesizing of penicillin at Cornell, one meets a ghost of the living community that was created but has now vanished. The effort has been virtually abandoned, and our national appropriations for research in peace time are almost nil. Indeed, it is an intolerably bitter thought that almost the only corporate effort being made by our atomic physicists is directed toward warning the nation that they have given us a weapon that may destroy our civilization.

"Scientists Against Time," however, provides a good deal of enlightenment on the problem of the rational exploitation of science. What emerges is the unmistakable necessity of free and independent research within any cooperative scheme of effort. It was not the controlled body of technicians employed by the great industries that provided the dynamism of the national research effort but the university staffs, the "pure research" men. There was friction, overlapping, and some waste, but, considering all things, vastly less than might have been expected. One concludes that neither an immediate utilitarianism nor a rigidly directed plan would be serviceable in a cooperative society, but that in some way the lesson of the war effort must be applied. The fruits of relatively free research must be readily available to the marvelous technological instruments produced by our industrial civilization.

RALPH BATES

Science and Sociology

ONCE AGAIN the desperate hope that there must be some means of applying the scientific method to social problems has led Dr. Kenneth Mees, a distinguished chemist from the Eastman Kodak Company, to publish a book entitled "The Path of Science" (John Wiley and Sons, $3). Dr. Mees's opening chapters deal with phases of the history of civilization, the growth of the latter being compared to a helix "in which the cyclic structure discernible in the arts is shown in the coils, and the cumulative growth of knowledge [largely scientific knowledge] is shown as the vertical component." Since the rapid growth of science is a matter of the last few hundred years, the helix model must be so constructed as to show coils close together during the earlier stages of history, and farther apart as we approach the present era.

Picturesquely speaking, so far so good. But now the problem: Since the methods of science applied to scientific problems have given us a large vertical component, why not apply such methods to the social sciences? This question has been asked many, many times, even without the help of the helix, and so far the results have been futile. What does Dr. Mees have to add? "Our efforts should be directed . . . so that we can adjust our social conditions continuously as the advance of science makes changes necessary." This is good advice provided Mees will tell us how to put it into practice.

Elsewhere he writes, somewhat sadly, that politics are "controlled by emotions," and political methods controlled by pure reason could only succeed if they involved a dictatorship; which is something Mees doesn't want; therefore, "we must improve the methods of thinking of the public." Again, how?

The chapters devoted to the historical development of the sciences are excellent. Like all good citizens who happen to be scientists, Dr. Mees would like to use his scientific knowledge for the betterment of the world. He is in good company: so far he is one of many first-class scientists who have not succeeded.

BENJAMIN HARROW

Diana Trilling's column, Fiction in Review, will be omitted for the next two or three months; Mrs. Trilling is taking a vacation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STAGE PLAYS

RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN, 2nd, present
"A NEW HIT."—*Morehouse, Sun*
HELEN HAYES
—in—
"HAPPY BIRTHDAY"
A New Comedy by ANITA LOOS • Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
BROADHURST Thea., 44th St. West of Broadway. Evenings 8:40. Matinees: Wednesday and Saturday 2:40.

"A SURE-FIRE HIT."—*Coleman, Mirror*
ETHEL MERMAN
IN THE MUSICAL SMASH
"ANNIE GET YOUR GUN"
Music & Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN • Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS
with RAY MIDDLETON • Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
IMPERIAL Theatre 45th St., West of Broadway. Evenings at 8:30. Matinees: Wednesday and Saturday at 2:30.

"A smash hit of enormous proportions." — *Ward Morehouse, Sun.*

MAX GORDON *presents*
BORN YESTERDAY
The Hilarious Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way. CH 4-4256
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wednesday & Saturday 2:40.

"Must be seen. . . . Warming, charming, chuckling."
—*Morehouse, Sun*

MAX GORDON *Presents*
FREDRIC MARCH • FLORENCE ELDRIDGE *in*
YEARS AGO
The New Smash Hit by RUTH GORDON
Directed by Garson Kanin
MANSFIELD THEA., 47th St. W. of B'way. CI 9-9056
Evgs. 8:40. Mats. Wed. & Sat. at 2:40

"RATTLING GOOD THEATRE."—*Atkinson, Times*
JOSE FERRER IN
CYRANO de BERGERAC
FRANCES REID • RALPH CLANTON • HIRAM SHERMAN
PAULA LAURENCE • FRANCES COMPTON
ERNEST GRAVES • WILLIAM WOODSON
BARRYMORE THEA. 47th Street West of Broadway. CI 6-0390
Eves., incl. Sun., 8:30. Mats. Sat. & Sun., 2:30

Buy Your Books through *The Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside of United States. When ordering, please give name of author and publisher, if possible. Make checks payable to *The Nation.*

Please address your orders to

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
THE *NATION*
20 VESEY STREET NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
58th ST. Bet. Lex. & 3rd
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENT
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.
BRONX
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL
WESTCHESTER
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

RKO *NOW*
"UNEXCELLED IN THE CARTOON FIELD."—*N. Y. Post*
WALT DISNEY'S
'SONG OF THE SOUTH'
IN TECHNICOLOR
Based on the Tales of
UNCLE REMUS AND BRER RABBIT
—AND—
'CRACK-UP' PAT O'BRIEN CLAIRE TREVOR

BROOKLYN
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYOU Coney Island
QUEENS
ALDEN Jamaica
MIDWAY Forest Hills
Keith's FLUSHING
Keith's RICH. HILL
STRAND Far Rockaway
MANHATTAN
COLONIAL B'way & 62 St.

ERROL FLYNN • ELEANOR PARKER
'Never Say Goodbye'
—AND—
'THE BEAST with FIVE FINGERS'
Starring ROBERT ALDA
Andrea KING • Peter LORRE

BARRY FITZGERALD
DIANA LYNN • SONNY TUFTS
'Easy Come, Easy Go'
A PARAMOUNT PICTURE
In Person THE INK SPOTS *PLUS* ELLA FITZGERALD
EXTRA ADDED ATTRACTION
COOTIE WILLIAMS
And His Trumpet and Orchestra
NOW TIMES SQUARE **PARAMOUNT** Midnight Feature Nightly

"★★★½★ Breathtakingly beautiful "—*News*
ARTKINO PRESENTS
7th WEEK **"STONE FLOWER"**
LIFE "ONE OF THE BEST . . . IN EXCELLENT COLOR"
DOORS OPEN 8:45 A.M. *Stanley* 7th AVENUE bet. 42 & 41 STS.

INSTRUCTORS!
Take Advantage of The Nation's
SPECIAL CLASS-ROOM RATE:
30¢ MONTHLY PER STUDENT
for orders of ten or more copies to be sent to one address — Desk copy is supplied free.
Address your order to THE NATION
20 VESEY STREET • NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Because

"In his book we have Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson brought up to date in terms of education, soil erosion, freight rates, the Tennessee Valley, and true democracy."

—*HENRY A. WALLACE*

People are buying

The Shore Dimly Seen

By ELLIS G. ARNALL

● "You read this book not only with a sense of the excitement of the battles he has fought but with a sense of the exciting days ahead."
—*Lewis Gannett*

● "Ellis Arnall has written a book not merely about the South for Southerners but about America for Americans. If Claghorn can read, he won't read it. But its reading is imperative for the rest of us."
—*Jonathan Daniels*

● "The book is marked by the kind of drive and inspiration which Governor Arnall always exhibits in action . . . Inspiration and vision are found on every page."
—*Thurman Arnold*

3rd BIG PRINTING

At all Bookstores • $3.00

J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY

Philadelphia New York

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

THE concurrent shows of the English sculptor Henry Moore (at the Museum of Modern Art) and of the late American sculptor Gaston Lachaise (at Knoedler's) present a difficult problem to criticism. Both demonstrate in opposite ways that style, finish, and historical relevance do not settle everything in art, and that no amount of facility or awareness can make good the shortcomings of what Croce calls personality.

Lachaise's is the more authentic talent; yet his achievement seems less complete and adventurous than Moore's. The terms he sets himself are narrow, but he fails, apparently, to satisfy even these—while Moore, setting his terms so much higher and wider, seems to fill them completely in an *oeuvre* already resonant with almost everything that twentieth-century sculpture, painting, and construction have had to say. And yet, still, Lachaise is the better artist.

Lachaise's bulbous distortions and his occasional fondness for the fragmentary should not conceal his relative orthodoxy: he was a sculptor in the old line, the one running from Egypt through Greece and finishing with Rodin, Lehmbruck, Despiau, Maillol, and himself. The new, "international" line, which departs from cubist painting under the influence of barbaric art, is an almost completely new kind of sculpture that incorporates and aims at pictorial effects and depends more on draftsmanship than on carving or modeling. Sharp profiles and plane surfaces are offered to a single point of view, in contradistinction to the old classical sculpture, which offers a monolith to be seen from many sides; flat variegated colors, lines and wires, open and sometimes geometric forms circumscribing empty air, in contradistinction to the classical play of light and shadow on unified, monochromatic surfaces; cast iron, sheet metal, and flexible alloys, in contradistinction to wood, stone, and bronze.

Henry Moore's sculpture represents a stage about halfway between the classical and the new—a stage, also, where modern sculpture becomes peculiarly obsessed with the archaic and the primitive. Moore's quintessential impulse is still sculptural rather than pictorial, but he avails himself of many of the stylistic means developed by Arp, Lipchitz, and the constructivists. His use of string forms and holes and, in his latest work, of flat perforated leaves of metal inclosing smaller and more detailed motifs is altogether in the new vein. At the same time he remains traditional in so far as he restricts his media largely to wood, fieldstone, bronze, and lead, and insists on "fidelity" to the respective natures of these materials. His large figures, invariably reclining and almost invariably derived from the female form, demonstrate his attachment to the past more obviously than do his smaller pieces, and the final effect, even in the latter, somehow discounts the actual presence of modernist calligraphy and detail, to leave one with the impression, hard to define but nevertheless definite, of something not too far from classical statuary.

Moore possesses no mean talent, and some of his later work, from the two reclining figures of 1938 (one in stone and one in lead) and "The Helmet" of 1940 (in lead) to the two bronze family groups of 1945 and 1946, will surely outlast the transient ardors of that informed contemporary taste upon which Moore's art is now making what I feel is an exaggerated impression. But even at best this work is not so original as it intends itself to be. It answers too perfectly the current notion of how modern sophisticated and inventive sculpture should look, without at the same time disappointing the popular demand for the heroic. (Truly original modern sculpture like Brancusi's makes that demand seem irrelevant.) Nor are the expected archaeological reminiscences lacking—Egypt, Central America, Africa, and even Graeco-Roman bronze figurines. The very fact that it meets our taste so ideally banishes all real difficulty or surprise from Moore's art. It is, alas, this subservience to taste that condemns him, along with Calder, Stuart Davis, Graham Sutherland, and sundry Anglo-Saxons, to the category—not as populous as might be thought, but very popular just now—of the sincere academic modern.

The first number of a new London art magazine, *The Arts*, publishes photographs of Moore's large elmwood "Reclining Figure" of 1946 in three different stages of progress. Because so few of the possibilities exposed at each stage are taken advantage of in the completed work, with its curvilinear monotony and water-silk surfaces, one might conclude that Moore is a case of the inability to *realize*, of the failure of that nerve which is required to pursue the original sensation in the face

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of whatever warnings one's own taste may flash. But in the light of Moore's water-colors, which are obviously first-hand notations of feeling, one has to revise the diagnosis and conclude that, in spite of the photographic evidence, the original sensation itself is not very strong and that Moore needs his taste to expand it.

Lachaise's total work is very incomplete, and he never did quite affirm a style. But in his relatively short life he did affirm an artistic personality that has a potency and autonomy not yet approached by Moore's. The set of distortions to which he habitually subjected the female figure sometimes threatens to become a mannerism, and he could stylize along with the worst of modern sculptors—but feeling was always there, some current of emotion always penetrated to the spectator from these over-literal attempts to negate the visual sensations of mass and weight by means of form. We do not see the feeling give out—as only too often in Moore's case—halfway through a piece, so that from a certain point in space on the art becomes nothing but a fumble and a stammer, a helpless fingering of archaeological reminiscences or a supine surrender to the best taste (see Moore before 1935). Where Moore fails because his feeling is incomplete, or because he has not pressed himself to complete it, Lachaise fails only because he cannot organize his feeling to the very last jot and tittle. He hardly ever runs dry—not even in that series of stylized and repetitious women's heads in the first room at Knoedler's.

Moore will probably bulk larger in the history of contemporary sculpture, and for valid reasons, but I feel certain that in time to come there will always be a few people around to discover Lachaise in the corners of American museums and become worked up about him as no one will ever be about Moore.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE difference between Bach's routine exercises of his prodigious craftsmanship and the occasional work in which that craftsmanship served great musical thought can be heard in the arias sung by Marian Anderson in the new Victor set (1087; $3.85)—in the several arias from church cantatas, and on the other hand the *Erbarme dich* from the St. Matthew Passion. Of the cantata arias only one, *Jesus schläft, was soll ich hoffen* from the Cantata No. 81, impresses me as having some real musical life in it. Miss Anderson is in good voice, and her singing of *Erbarme dich* and *Jesus schläft* is impressively eloquent; and there are good accompaniments by a little orchestra under Robert Shaw, with solos beautifully played on the oboe and oboe d'amore by Robert Bloom and on the violin by Joseph Fuchs. The performances are excellently reproduced; but surfaces in my copy are poor, and one side with the end of *Erbarme dich* wavers in pitch. And some of the space on the album cover devoted to glib background chatter should have been devoted to the German texts.

Neither the tones of iron that Richard Crooks produces with appearance of strain nor his crude inflection of these tones makes his singing of twelve songs from Schubert's "Schöne Müllerin" cycle an enjoyable experience (Set 1067; $3.85). Only English summaries of the German texts are provided—for lack of space on one album cover, we are told. But what about the second cover; and why not a separate leaflet instead of the covers?

Albanese's voice is lovely and her singing expressive in *Ah! fors' è lui* from "La Traviata" (11-9331; $1), and she doesn't pull the phrases out of shape as Sayao does on the Columbia record; but in *Sempre libera* she hasn't Sayao's brilliance; and her performance is not as well recorded.

Golschmann's performance of Mozart's Symphony K. 504 ("Prague") with the St. Louis Symphony (Set 1085; $3.85) is a good one. The sound from the first side of my copy is muffled; and this may be only a defective pressing, for the sound from the other sides is clear, bright, and lustrous, though not as brilliant as what I have heard from recent Victor orchestral recordings. In my set, also, the two sides with the slow movement waver in pitch; and surfaces are not good.

The brilliance I just mentioned is in the recorded sound of the performance of Copland's "Lincoln Portrait" by Koussevitzky with the Boston Symphony (Set 1088; $2.85). Knowing the work only from a couple of performances I cannot tell whether this one is as good as it seems; but again I am bothered by the declamation—this time Melvyn Douglas's—of the passages from Lincoln's speeches. It is hard for me to believe that Lincoln himself declaimed them in that way; and even if it were established that he did I would contend that Mr. Douglas should not—in deference to our present idea of Lincoln

$3.75

SOVIET PHILOSOPHY

By JOHN SOMERVILLE

Columbia University
Cutting Traveling Fellow
in the U.S.S.R.

"HERE is the book for which *all who are worrying about how to get along with Russia* have been looking. It gives us fundamental insight into the Russian way of thinking and does so with rare simplicity and clarity. The portrayal is a sympathetic one throughout, and true understanding in this difficult field requires sympathy. Criticism must come too, but it will not be relevant unless it is based on such understanding as Professor Somerville here makes available."

—Prof. E. A. Burtt, Sage School of Philosophy, Cornell University.

At your Bookstore, or Use Order Coupon here

LIMITED EDITION ORDER NOW

PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY, Inc., Dept. N,
15 East 40th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

Please send me ..... copies of SOVIET PHILOSOPHY, at $3.75 per copy. Enclosed are $.....

Name.....

Address.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rather than to mere historical fact. And despite Copland's portentous musical build-ups to the passages.

Less good is the recorded sound of the Boston Symphony's performance, under Koussevitzky's direction, of Khatchatourian's Piano Concerto with William Kapell as soloist (Set 1084; $4.85). There is excellent balance of orchestra and piano that allows both to be heard clearly in fortissimo passages; but there isn't enough bass to balance the treble, so that the sound is brilliant but shallow and thin. On the other hand the sound of the performance of the work on English Decca records (Set ED3; $9) by the London Symphony under Fistoulari with Moura Lympany has solidity and the depth in space that I spoke of recently; but the orchestra sounds too far back of the piano, which obscures it in fortissimo passages; and there isn't enough treble to give the piano its rich resonance and the orchestra its luster in the upper range. As for the performances, those who like the work—in which quiet interludes separate crescendos that are whipped up to climaxes — will probably prefer the sharper inflection and nervous tension and excitement of Kapell's playing. Surfaces in the Victor set are poor.

The piano is excellently recorded in Victor's set (1082; $3.85) of Chopin's Sonata Opus 35; but Arthur Rubinstein's performance of this beautiful work carries the traditional distortion of phrase to an extreme that is monstrous, and there is messy execution in some of the climaxes (e. g., in the development of the first movement). The same mannered style, but less extreme, is heard in Rubinstein's performance of Gershwin's Prelude No. 2, which is a more engaging piece than the dissonant "Saudades do Brasil"—Nos. 5, 9, and 11—by Milhaud that are brilliantly played on the reverse side (11-9420; $1). The surface of the Gershwin side is noisy.

Stravinsky has recorded for Columbia (Set 653; $4.85), with the New York Philharmonic, his new augmented version of the Suite from "L'Oiseau de feu." It adds the Adagio of the bird with the prince and the Scherzo of the princesses to the lovely music we are familiar with; but for no good reason I can think of it omits one of the most beautiful passages in the score: the transition from the Lullaby to the finale. It is an experience to hear Stravinsky's own accurate, clear, and powerful statement of the work, which is reproduced by the records with clarity but no warmth of sound. In my copy the side with the Khorovod wavers in pitch, and there are some poor surfaces.

Another Columbia set (651; $3.85) offers six passages from "Hamlet," spoken by Maurice Evans: *O, that this too solid flesh would melt,* the Ghost Scene, *O, what a rogue and peasant slave am I, To be or not to be,* the Advice to the Players, and *How all occasions do inform against me.* They are skilfully framed, so to speak, in music, and excellently recorded.

OF INTEREST TO READERS OF "THE NATION"

THREE COURSES IN LITERATURE

Beginning February 5

ISAAC ROSENFELD

former Assistant-Editor of the "New Republic"—Author, "Passage from Home"

The Art of Criticism . . . . . Wednesdays, 6-8 p.m.

EDGAR JOHNSON

Author, "A Treasury of Satire"

Satire: A Survey and Analysis . . . Wednesdays, 8-10 p.m.

HENRY NEUMANN

Leader of Brooklyn Ethical Culture Society

Ideas and Ideals in Modern Literature . Wednesdays, 8-10 p.m.

REGISTRATION OPEN TO FEB. 14—These and more than 200 other evening courses in literature, the arts, social studies, creative writing, radio, and technical fields are offered in the spring term of the DIVISION OF GENERAL EDUCATION, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY'S school for adults. Veterans eligible. No academic prerequisites for admissions. For announcements of all courses, 'phone or write for Bulletin N, Address

Division of General Education **NEW YORK UNIVERSITY**

New York 3, N. Y. Spring 7-2000, Ext. 291

Letters to the Editors

Not the Same "Nation"

Dear Sirs: On the expiration of my present subscription stop sending me your magazine as I no longer can follow your brand of liberalism. It is no longer *The Nation* to which I first was introduced by the late Carl Schurz on September 11 or 12, 1898. A. ROUSSELANGE

Hillwater, Minn., January 1

A Generous Offer

Dear Sirs: I have complete, unbound copies of *The Nation* going back ten years or more, which I would like to give to some school, library, or similar group which could make good use of them. I also have available several years of *Harper's* and some incomplete years (1929-31) of the *American Mercury.* Would any group interested in obtaining these magazines write to me at R. F. D. No. 3, Milford, Michigan? I will pay freight charges.

SIPHRA ROLLAND

Milford, Mich., January 4

A Question . . .

Dear Sirs: You have again exposed yourselves as the hypocrites of the day. You are thrown into a funk because a movie cannot show a Catholic priest as evil, money-hungry, etc. But who has brayed longer and louder than you against showing a Jew or Negro in an unfavorable light? So, you believe in tolerance and good-will for everyone but Catholics?

You have endless articles against Franco and Perón but rarely one word against the more oppressive "constructive" dictatorship of Stalin and his fifth column in every country. It must be degrading to have to operate under such a double standard of morals. Why not print this and let your readers judge your crypto-liberal lack of morals and ethics? JOHN V. HOLMES

Augusta, Ga., January 8

. . . of Hypocrisy

Dear Sirs: In view of your editorial in your January 11 issue regarding the film "The Captain of Castile," I for one promise that I shall refuse to spend my money to see a picture that has been perverted from the original novel solely because of the opposition of the so-called "Legion of Decency."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Further, until the company that made "The Captain of Castile" into a picture courageously issues its declaration of independence from this legion, and any other legion, and any other church, I shall view with considerable suspicion any pictures it issues from now on.

R. W. PENCE

Greencastle, Ind., January 15

How to Do It

Dear Sirs: You might be interested in the following *practical* symposium on housing, either G. I. or otherwise:

In the first place, housing for rental income must pay out on six years' rental occupation. The portion of the average person's income for housing rent, or whatever you want to call it, is one-quarter of the income, *not* one-sixth, as you stated in a recent issue.

I have converted large houses into duplexes for rental income during the last fifteen years, and I know what I talk about. You don't go to an architect, you don't get blueprints, you don't figure fireplaces and glass porches; you figure housing only—just plain sleeping and eating accommodations, and if you are especially flush you figure for a plain garage. You get down in the dirt yourself, you help dig the foundation, you chase material for the carpenter, you get dirty yourself. You don't go out for your morning coffee around the corner from the office at 9 a. m. and sit there until 10 a. m. on the boss's time. I worked for years, Saturdays and Sundays—lathing, cleaning up. You don't holler for the government to take care of you—the so-called building trades show up for work, cold or warm, rain or dry, and I wonder if any of the people talking glibly about housing have ever done a dime's worth of hard work. I know they haven't.

You know the way to save expenses is to get busy yourself: mix your own plaster, help the plasterer put it on, lay your own cement floor in the basement and garage. It is simple: you just buy the ready-mixed and take a two by four and flow it on just like the other guy has to do it.

The boloney about the mortgage lender is the bunk. If you are a good upstanding man and not afraid to help and work you can go to any bank and get a loan at 4 per cent per *annum* which is certainly cheap money. Too much golf, the ponies, and too much talk and bridge.

Hey what? FRANK HOLBORN

Oskosh, Wis., January 10

Building Codes vs. Progress

Dear Sirs: Charles Abrams's three articles in *The Nation* on Homeless America contain many constructive suggestions. My union particularly subscribes to his final conclusion: "The bottleneck in housing production is not the materials shortage but a misconception of the function of government." But we would substitute the word "perversion" for "misconception."

Mr. Abrams, while laying about him manfully, has nevertheless passed over lightly the greatest single obstacle to a rational solution of the problem. This is the mass of building-code laws and ordinances which blankets the nation. As is well known, local codes prevent the use of most of the standardized construction methods and other technical advances which engineers have worked out for improving the quality and lowering the cost of housing.

Nearly fifteen years ago, under the auspices of the Bureau of Standards, a model building code was drafted by experts and sent out to all state, county, and municipal agencies with recommendations that it be adopted. It was scuttled by the same lobbying interests that scuttled all other attempts to ameliorate the housing crises.

Hence it seems obvious to us shipyard workers, who see the dismantling of scores of great shipyards with their productive machinery and the turning off of thousands of skilled workmen who could be used in the production of standardized unit housing, that housing reform is fundamentally a question of political action. When the common people of America become politically conscious and organized it will be possible to do the job.

Until then the fiascos cited by Abrams and his plea for construction by public agencies will have no effect, except in those few instances when "war emergencies" or similar situations lower the guard of the vested interests in housing.

JOHN GREEN, President,
Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers

Camden, N. J., January 13

Is Good Prose a Crime?

Dear Sirs: I have just read Isaac Rosenfeld's review of "The Wild Flag." Since Mr. Rosenfeld draws upon Yiddish, I hope both he and you will forgive me if I drag another Yiddish word into your columns. The word is *nudnik*. Unlike the teakettle, the *nudnik* defies translation. But Mr. Rosenfeld will recognize the word and may serve as an admirable example of its meaning.

I am uninterested either in defending or attacking the *New Yorker*. Apparently, however, the trouble with "The Wild Flag" is that its contents first appeared in that magazine. That's a fine critical principle. Of course Rosenfeld is trying to establish a relationship between the publication where White's pieces appeared and the nature of the writing itself. But I have an uneasy feeling that our critic can't get the magazine out of his mind and "The Wild Flag" into it.

Since about 1940 I have nowhere found the argument for abandoning national sovereignty presented so eloquently, so lucidly, so persuasively as in the selections of "The Wild Flag." That the argument must still be carried on seems to me fairly obvious. That White uses rare talents to plead for world government, law, discipline is apparently obvious to Mr. Rosenfeld too. Well, then, is it a crime to use good prose for a desperately necessary message? Are only the ponderous sincere?

JUDAH GOLDIN

Iowa City, January 11

Planning and Paying for Full Employment

Edited by ABBA P. LERNER and FRANK D. GRAHAM

Can America enjoy both economic security *and* liberty? Some of our country's most thoughtful economists say *yes*.

In this book, they show how we can assure full employment without the "serfdom" of too much governmental control.

220 pages, $3.00

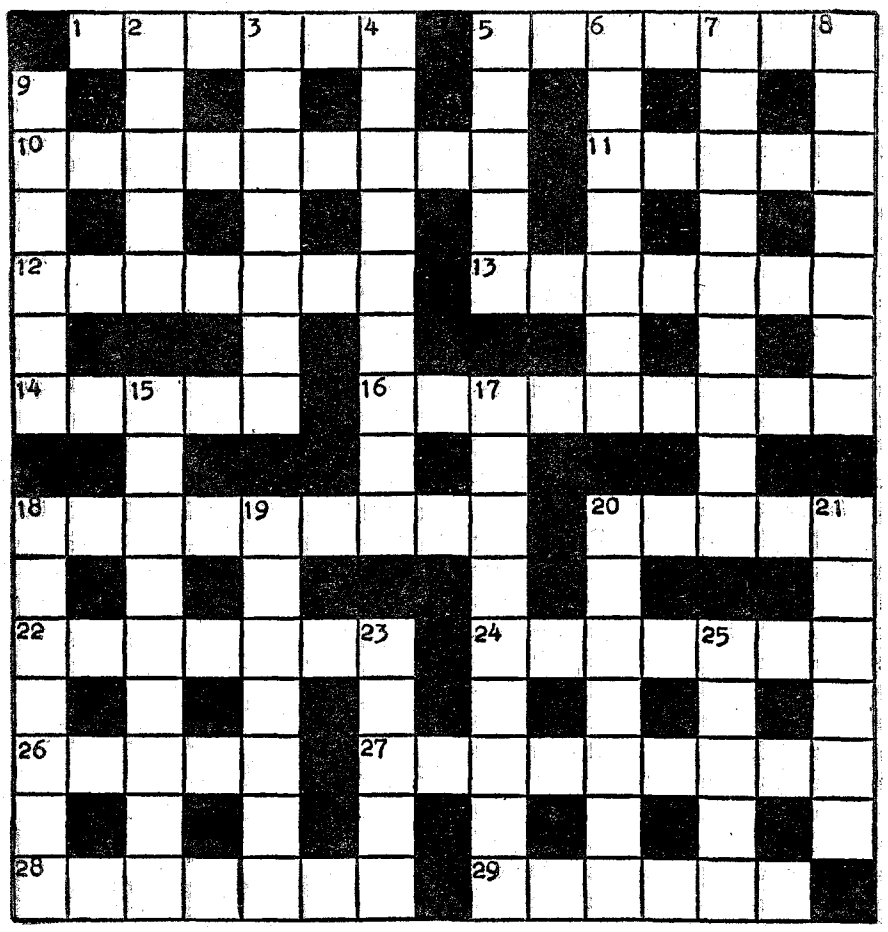
At all bookstores

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS, *Princeton, N. J.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 198

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Ghost with long teeth that haunts some Scottish castles
5 Soon wed, in the Victorian manner
10 Or rather the dunce
11 Affected with a teasing desire
12 Perhaps the greatest of Italian operatic composers
13 Pert, am I? (anag.)
14 Brilliant pianist—one of his daughters married Richard Wagner
16 Silent sea (anag.)
18 We shouldn't care to be struck by either part of this projectile
20 Go slow
22 Part of a closed car which could be thrown open
24 Not 14's instrument
26 "Though ----- to all things, for all things unfit; Too nice for a statesman, too proud for a wit"
27 Elits
28 It is cut to a pattern
29 Happiest part of the story—usually

DOWN

2 Brief tests
3 Feline intoxicant
4 To revile pig is a right some people have
5 You would be lucky to win him
6 "Stiff in --------s, always in the wrong, Was everything by starts, and nothing long"
7 The fruit that makes a heavenly drink?
8 Sort of battery that doesn't need topping-up (3 and 4)
9 All for flowers
15 The original amateur? (5 and 4)
17 Not a side-line of the pork butcher's for your money (4 and 5)
18 These are invariably English in Hollywood films
19 Did that woman call up for the stuff to make the varnish?
20 Split up into groups
21 Jobs, and where they are to be found
23 Pending
25 He was slain by Diana—or perhaps it was Jupiter

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 197

ACROSS:—1 FRONT DOOR; 6 UNCAP; 9 YAWNING; 10 DRAW OUT; 11 RUM; 12 MINING; 13 STUN; 15 MINE HOST; 16 AMPERE; 18 NATANT; 20 BLOOMERS; 23 HEIR; 24 EGGCUP; 25 ASS; 28 RETAKEN; 29 EPISTLE; 30 ANNAM; 31 SPECTACLE.

DOWN:—1 FOYER; 2 OF WOMEN; 3 TRIUMPHANT; 4 ORGANIST; 5 RED INK; 6 UNAU; 7 CHORTLE; 8 PATENTEES; 14 EMBONPOINT; 15 MANCHURIA; 17 BLACK EYE; 19 TRISTAN; 21 ELASTIC; 22 AGENTS; 26 STELE; 27 SKIM.

FOR SALE

"GOLDEN APPLES"
Send *Indian River Citrus Fruit* as Gifts or a Treat for the Family
ORANGES AND GRAPEFRUIT
Full Bushel (55 lbs.) $4.75
Half Bushel (30 lbs.) 3.00
Express Prepaid • *No. C. O. D.*
HONEY GROVES
Sebastian Florida

SITUATION WANTED

MEMBER OF COLLEGE FACULTY with extensive group work experience and specialization in psychology and education, seeks position on college faculty outside of N. Y. for summer session. Box 1681, c/o The Nation.

HELP WANTED

WANTED: Agents and Salesmen to sell the sensational leather coin purse—a quality item with instant sales appeal. It's a real quick-action, big-profit seller that sells on sight. For complete details write to I. DeKaiser, 1032 Oak St. N. E., St. Petersburg, Florida.

ROOM FOR RENT

PALM BEACH, Florida, beautiful room with private family, adjoining bath, one block from beach. **Miller, 218 Peruvian Ave. Tel. 0526.**

SLEEP AID

AMAZING SLEEP AID—$1. No drug. Stimulates deep breathing—relaxing—scientific. **Deluxe Model Insuflator**—send $2. RELDAW, 1250 Broadway, N. Y. City.

LANGUAGES

LINGUAPHONE MAKES LANGUAGES EASY. At home learn to speak Spanish, French, German, Russian or any of 29 languages by quick, easy Linguaphone Conversational Method. You learn by listening. Save time, work, money. Available under GI Bill of Rights. Send for FREE book. **Linguaphone Institute**, 81 R C A Bldg., New York 20, N. Y.

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price $1.45 per carton; postpaid. Send check or money order. **ACE MAIL ORDER CO.**, East Orange 1, N. J.

MAGAZINE SUBSCRIPTIONS

SUBSCRIBE FOR PERIODICALS simply by asking me for them; any number in one order. Pay after I bill you at publishers' lowest prices. Catalog NA, Free. John Crehore, Walpole, N. H.

BOOKS

OUT-OF-PRINT and hard-to-find books located free of charge. Send list of wants to J. Thompson, 1 Hillside Avenue, Pelham, New York.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 5-0956. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee $3.00.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED